Charles Davis
RR 4, Box 241A
Rockville, IN 47872

January 18, 1999

Dear Mr. Davis:

I wanted to acknowledge receipt of your letter of concern regarding the Wabash and Erie Canal material which was donated to the Emeline Fairbanks Memorial Library around 1938. Your letter to Betty Martin was forwarded to me because I am the supervisor of the Special Collections Department and in charge of the library's Archives.

First of all, I want to apologize for not being able to speak with you in person when you visited the library. I was helping another patron and could not leave the Archives area. However, I did take your inquiry quite seriously and checked the donor files that I have in the Archives for any record of such a donation. I do not have any record of the donation, but last week we found reference to the material in the administrative files in the Director's office. This file, at least, proved that the material was at one time stored at the library:

"Account of James J. Johnston shows merchandise purchased and names of men who made purchases, stained, 1858."

Unfortunately, there is no other mention of this material in the files or if it was donated to another institution. I am very familiar with all the material we have in Archives which relates to the Wabash and Erie Canal and knew that we did not have the original James C. Johnston's papers in our processed collections. Since Archives is a one-person shop, so to speak, I do have quite a backlog of material which has not been fully processed. However, I have a good inventory book which documents most of this material--so I checked it thoroughly but found nothing.

I can appreciate your frustration in this matter, but want to assure you that the library would not have destroyed these original papers. It is possible that the library donated the papers to another institution. Because you found a transcript in our files of some of these papers, it makes me think that the Vigo County Historical Society may have been given this collection many years ago. I say this because the transcript looks like many that the historical society did in the 1950s and 1960s.

To help you understand how this could occur, I'll give you a little historical background. In the 1930s when the papers would have been donated, the Emeline Fairbanks Memorial Library was collecting local history and genealogy material, but there was no formal Archives area. The library always worked closely with the Vigo County Historical Society, which had a special room within the library until it was able to establish its own museum in 1958.

I know that under the directorship of Stillman Taylor in the late 1950s and early 1960s many original archival collections were transferred to the Vigo County Historical Society after it had its own building. After four decades of collecting books and other material, the library had become cramped for space, but the new historical museum had room to store hundreds of archival collections. However, by the late 1970s and early 1980s, the situation reversed. The museum no longer had the space or staff to adequately care for archival collections. In 1979, the library opened a new building which had an Archives area and a professional staff to process and preserve the material. Most of the document material was transferred to the library, but some of the material did remain at the historical museum.

Although the record keeping on these thousands of archival items was not completely thorough due to limited staff in both institutions, I feel confident that the material is still out there because both institutions have always placed a high value on historical documents. If the local historical society does not have it, it is possible that the library director in the 1950s donated it to either the Indiana Historical Society or the Indiana State Library in Indianapolis because the material comes from a county other than Vigo.

I am in the process of contacting all three of these institutions to see if we can locate the material in question. I have worked closely in the past with the Canal Society of Indiana and Mike McCormick and want to assure you that I do understand the importance of this material. I am also contacting the Swope Art Museum regarding the painting by Lewis Pekin. Again, I am sorry this has been so frustating for you.

I will contact you, whatever I find out, and hopefully, it will be the good news that we have located the material. Thank you again for your letter of concern and if you have any further questions on this matter, feel free to contact me directly in the Archives at 812-232-1113, extension 292.

Sincerely,

Susan Dehler
Special Collections Archivist

Ethel Maid, Inc.
SCHUYLKILL HAVEN, PA.

Mr. Koehler,

Here is a Paper you might be interested in. (Keep it)
I am 78 yrs old.

My Great Grand Father Came up the W+E Canal from Evansville to Worthington Ind. It was called (? Point Commerce or Traders Point?)

If in Linton sometime. Give me a Call or look me up. Here is my address & Phone number.

MARVIN E. TAYLOR
59 SE. 11TH ST.
LINTON, IND.
47441

Phone Number
847-9505

I enjoyed your artical in the TH Star.

Yours Truly,
Marvin Taylor

This is a copy of a note from the original donor. Sent to Jeff Koehler 2/1993, who then donated the 1849 land transfer document to VCPL.

Preemption

No. 867.

THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE WABASH AND ERIE CANAL.

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME—GREETING:

Whereas, Elias Pickett

has filed in the office of the Board of Trustees of the Wabash and Erie Canal a Certificate of the Clerk of the Land Office at Washington, Daviess County, Indiana whereby it appears that full Payment has been made for the South East quarter of the North west quarter of Section number Thirty five in Township number Eight north of Range number Seven West, containing Forty Acres,

of the Lands in the Vincennes Land District; Which Tract was purchased by Elias Pickett at the said office at Washington as appears by Certificate No. 867

Now Know Ye, That the Board of Trustees aforesaid, in consideration of the premises, and in conformity with the provisions of "An Act to provide for the Funded Debt of the State of Indiana, and for the completion of the Wabash and Erie Canal to Evansville," approved January 19, 1846, and an Act supplementary thereto, approved January 27, 1847, have given, granted, bargained, and sold, and by these presents do give, grant, bargain, and sell unto the said Elias Pickett and to his heirs, the said Tract above described: TO HAVE AND TO HOLD THE SAME, together with all the rights, privileges, immunities, and appurtenances of whatsoever nature thereunto belonging unto the said Elias Pickett and to his heirs and assigns forever.

In Testimony Whereof, The Board of Trustees of the Wabash and Erie Canal have caused their seal to be hereto affixed. Given under the hands of the Trustees at Terre Haute, the first day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty nine.

Ch Butler

A M Puett

Tho H Blake

Original document in Archives Map File Drawer #5

December 18, 1933.

Mr. John B. Hunley,
c/o Big Four R. R.
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Dear Mr. Hunley;

Historical research leads one into many paths and I am now getting together material for a series of lectures and papers on early transportation in this vicinity.

The first group concerns the building of the Wabash & Erie Canal, the remains of which are still visible in many places.

As the old E. & I. right of way and track coincides very closely with the line of the canal from Terre Haute to Riley and touches it at several other points, I am anxious to get a survey and profile of that road to check elevations on the canal and to locate some of the old locks that show no signs of their existence at this late day.

Two of these were located in the Town of Lockport and signs of their existence are to be seen from the trestle that crosses the old bed there, another is about a quarter of a mile north, these three having been timber structures and the third was the old stone structure, one wall of which still stands about a mile north of the town.

Another seems to have been immediately after the acqueduct crossed Honey Creek some two hundred yards east of the trestle where the E & I crossed and two were at the site of the old Hudnut Mill at Chestnut and Third in Terre Haute, while the probable difference in levels between Honey Creek Crossing, Spring

No carbon of 2d page

Hill Crossing of the E&I and the C&EI and First & Chestnut streets in Terre Haute about the E&I will indicate possible locations for more of them.

If it happens that the Big Four Engineering Dept has the levels of only a few points or better yet a profile of the whole road as originally built by the old Cincinnati and Terre Haute line to Worthington, from which I can have a print, I will be glad to know how I can get it.

Our beloved(?) Congresswoman would probably have a survey made for me if she thought it would help her novel solution of the transportation problem of the day. Her notion of helping the railroads is along the belief of the old backwoodsman who thought that a few more fleas were good for a dog; they helped keep his mind off his other troubles.

I enclose a copy of a story of May 1932, on the old Canal that may interest you, little as it tells of the famous or otherwise ditch of the century gone by.

Thanking you in advance for favors expected and already given, I am,

Yours truly

R. H. Simpson & Co. *printers*, Terre Haute, Ind.

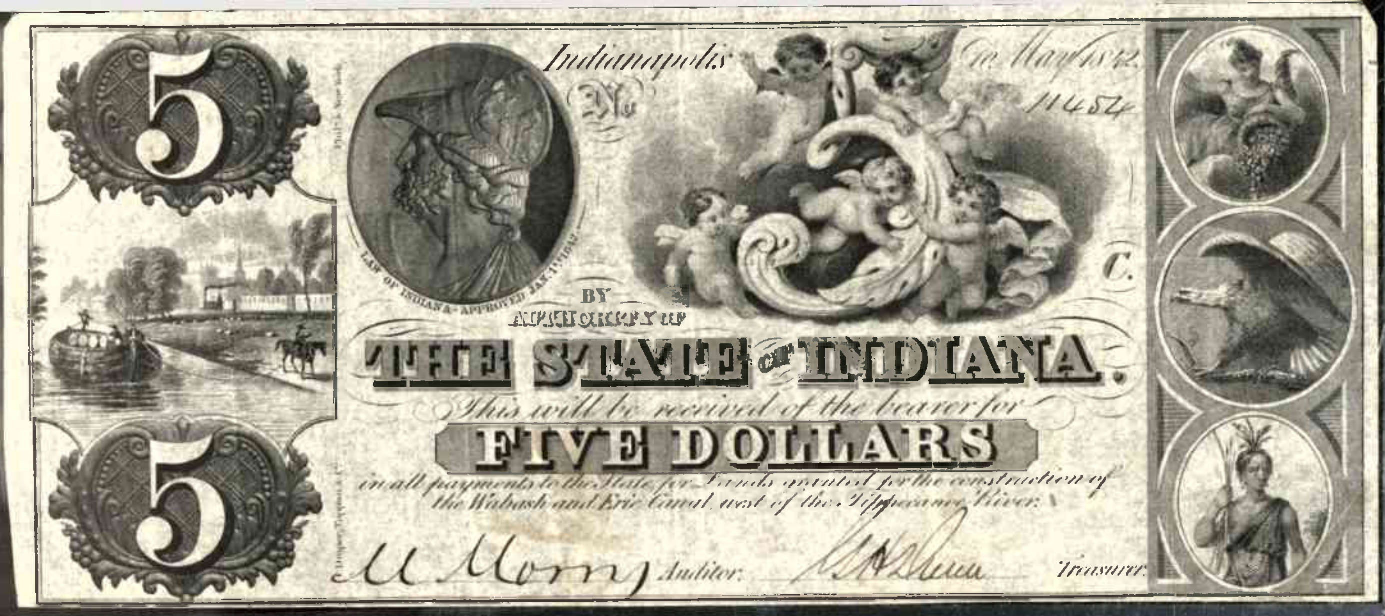
Received, *Terre Haute,* ______________ 1859 *of*

W A Stewart ______________ Twelve ______ 50/100 *Dollars,*

being second ______ *instalment of subscription to aid in sustaining the division of the Wabash and Erie Canal, extending from Terre Haute to Newberry.*

$ 12 50/

Charles Orff ______________ **Secretary.**



5

Indianapolis 1st May 1842.

No 11454

C.

LAW OF INDIANA - APPROVED JAN. 1st 1842.

BY AUTHORITY OF

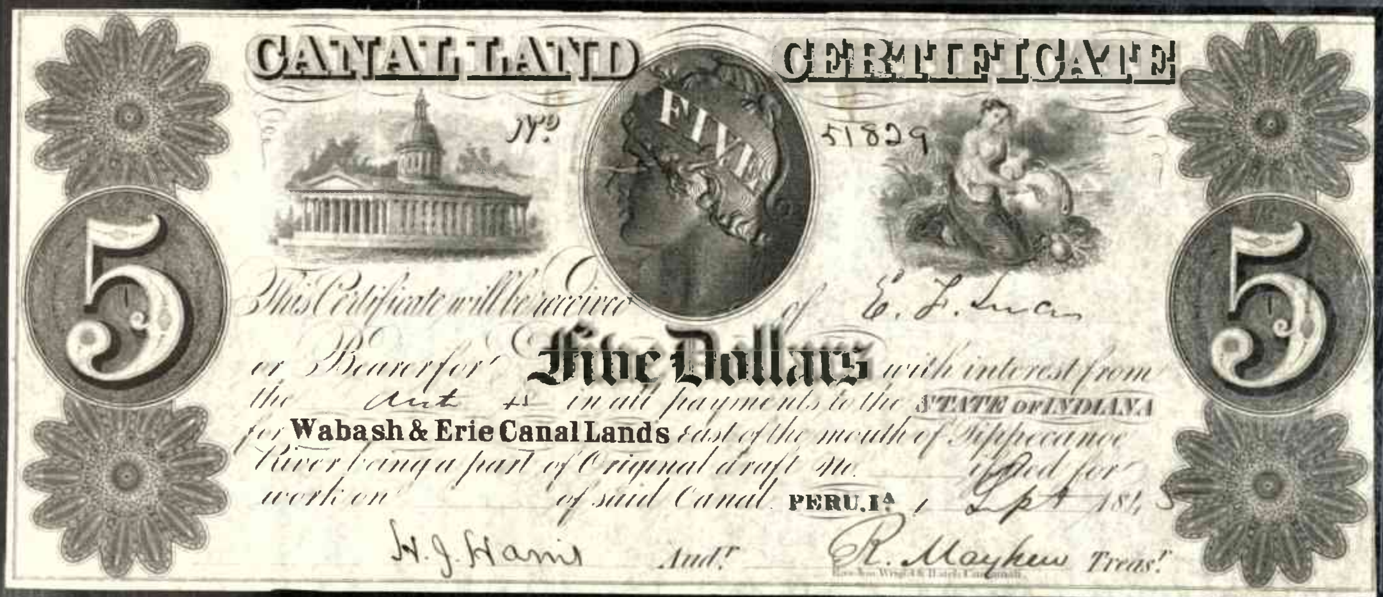
THE STATE OF INDIANA.

This will be received of the bearer for

FIVE DOLLARS

in all payments to the State for Lands granted for the construction of the Wabash and Erie Canal, west of the Tippecanoe River.

U Morris Auditor. G H Dunn Treasurer.



CANAL LAND CERTIFICATE

No 51829

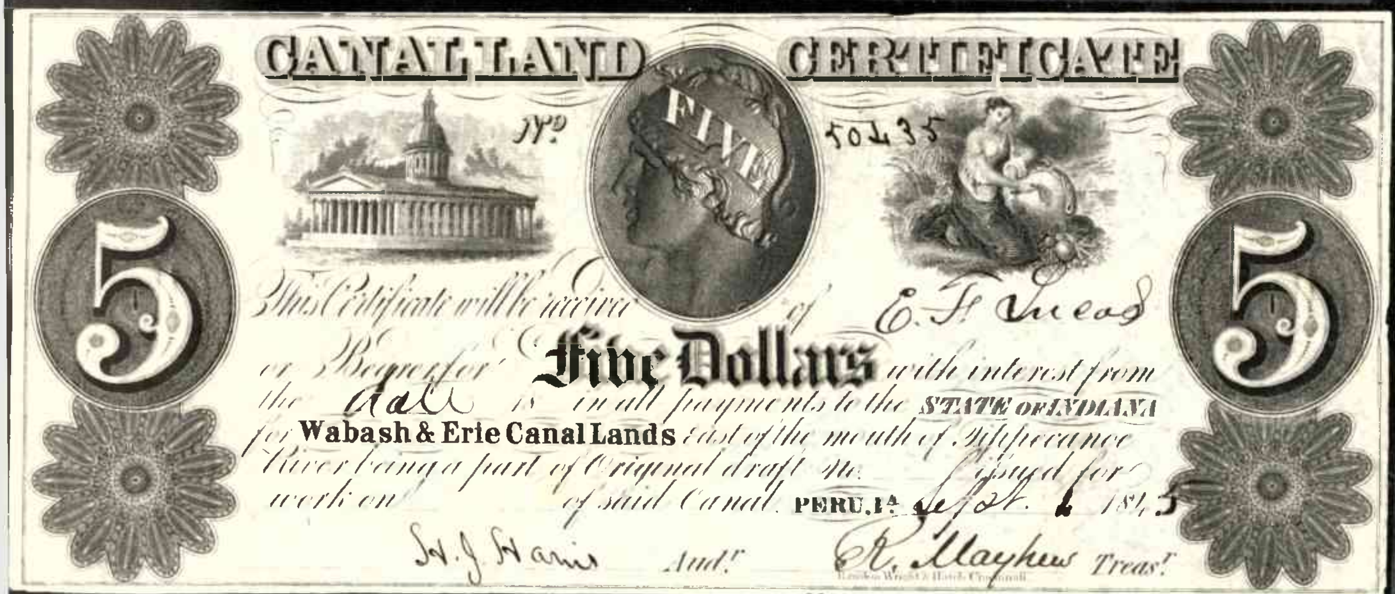
FIVE

5

This Certificate will be received of E. F. Lucas or Bearer for Five Dollars with interest from the Aut 15 in all payments to the STATE OF INDIANA for Wabash & Erie Canal Lands East of the mouth of Tippecanoe River being a part of Original draft No. issued for work on of said Canal. PERU, Ia. 1 Sept 1845

H. J. Harris Audr. R. Mayhew Treasr.

Rawdon Wright & Hatch Cincinnati



CANAL LAND CERTIFICATE

No 50435

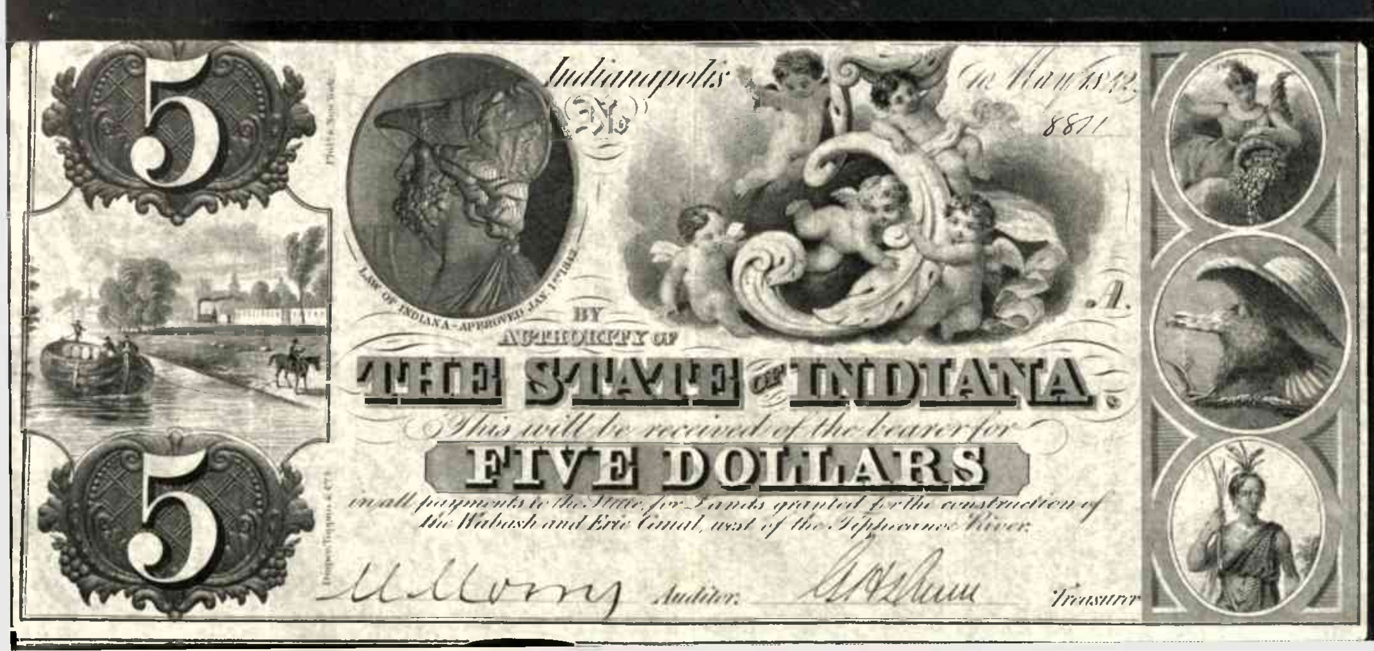
FIVE

5

This Certificate will be received of E. F. Lucas or Bearer for Five Dollars with interest from the date 18 in all payments to the STATE OF INDIANA for Wabash & Erie Canal Lands East of the mouth of Tippecanoe River being a part of Original draft No. issued for work on of said Canal. PERU, Ia. Sept 1 1845

H. J. Harris Audr. R. Mayhew Treasr.

Rawdon Wright & Hatch Cincinnati



5

Indianapolis 1st May 1842.

No 8871

A.

LAW OF INDIANA - APPROVED JAN. 1st 1842.

BY AUTHORITY OF

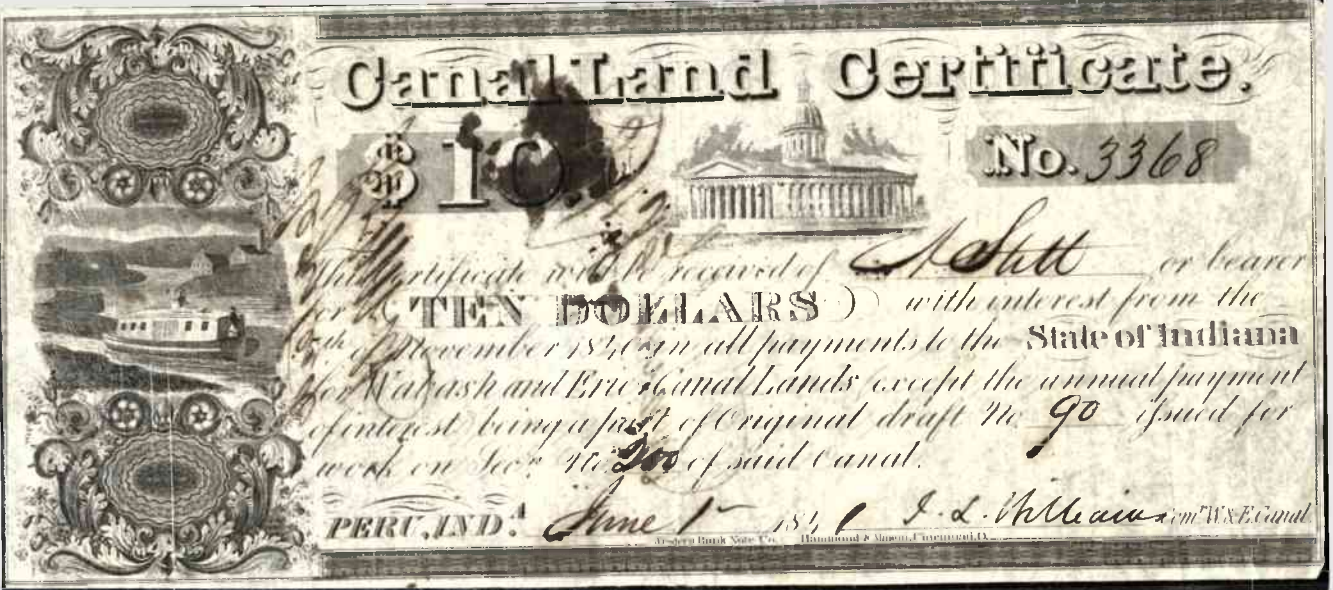
THE STATE OF INDIANA.

This will be received of the bearer for

FIVE DOLLARS

in all payments to the State for Lands granted for the construction of the Wabash and Erie Canal, west of the Tippecanoe River.

U Morris Auditor. G H Dunn Treasurer.



Canal Land Certificate.

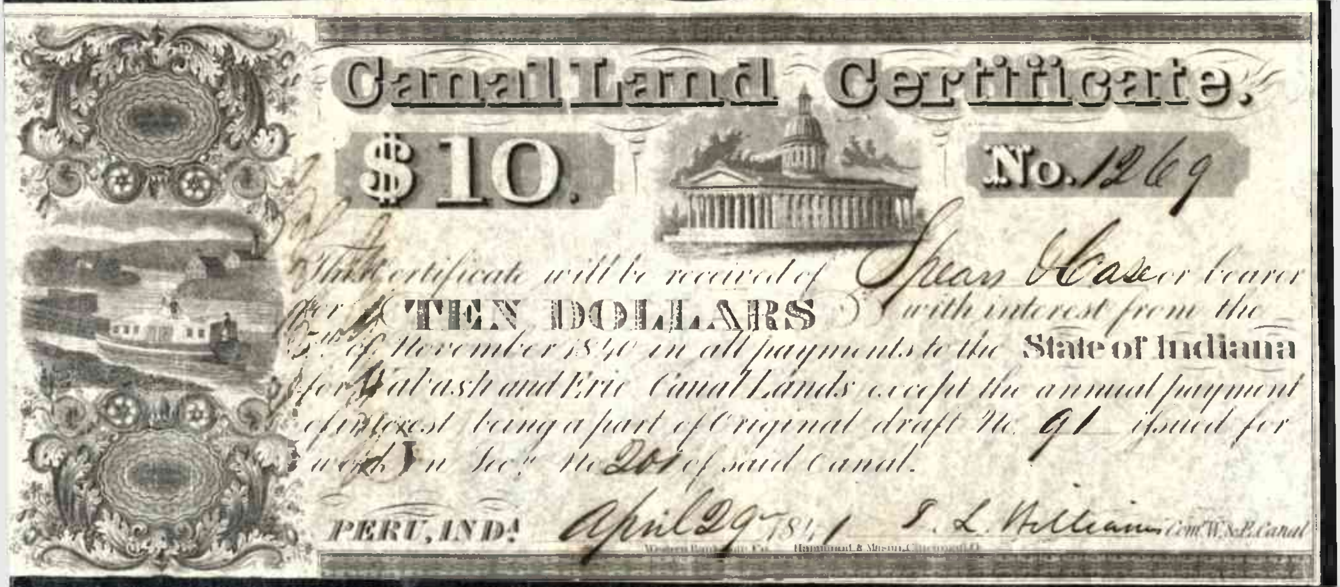
$10.

No. 3368

This Certificate will be received of A Stitt or bearer for (TEN DOLLARS) with interest from the 5th of November 1840 in all payments to the **State of Indiana** for Wabash and Erie Canal Lands except the annual payment of interest being a part of Original draft No. 90 issued for work on Sec.n No. 200 of said Canal.

PERU, IND.A June 1st 1841 J. L. Williams Com.r W.&E. Canal

Western Bank Note Co. Hammond & Mason, Cincinnati, O.



Canal Land Certificate.

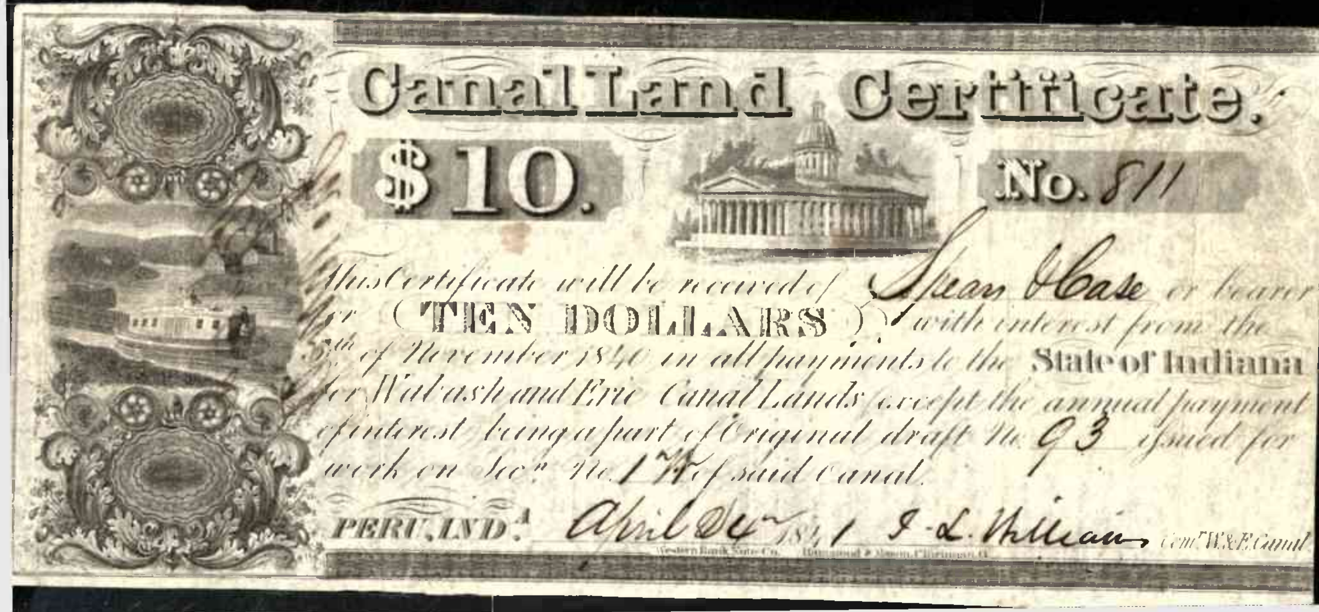
$10.

No. 1269

This Certificate will be received of Spear & Case or bearer for (TEN DOLLARS) with interest from the 5th of November 1840 in all payments to the **State of Indiana** for Wabash and Erie Canal Lands except the annual payment of interest being a part of Original draft No. 91 issued for work on Sec.n No. 201 of said Canal.

PERU, IND.A April 29th 1841 J. L. Williams Com.r W.&E. Canal

Western Bank Note Co. Hammond & Mason, Cincinnati, O.



Canal Land Certificate.

$10.

No. 811

This Certificate will be received of Spear & Case or bearer for (TEN DOLLARS) with interest from the 5th of November 1840 in all payments to the **State of Indiana** for Wabash and Erie Canal Lands except the annual payment of interest being a part of Original draft No. 93 issued for work on Sec.n No. 174 of said Canal.

PERU, IND.A April 24th 1841 J. L. Williams Com.r W.&E. Canal

Western Bank Note Co. Hammond & Mason, Cincinnati, O.

Indiana's Internal Improvements.

The Wabash & Erie Canal

Paper written by Professor
Albert A. Faurot in 1916
for the T. H. Literary Society.
Presented again in 1954
for the Vigo County Historical Society.

(Maps & Bibliography)

paper presented to Vigo County
Historical Society by Mrs
Faurot Apr 12, 1956
J. P.

The Wabash and Erie Canal -
A Paper written by Professor
Albert A. Faurot in 1916,
presented at a Meeting
of the Terre Haute Literary
Society. (Maps & Bibliography.)
Presented at a Meeting of
the Vigo County Historical
Society. (date) April 12, 1955

The Wabash & Erie Canal
Albert A. Faurot. 1916.

Even before the ordinance of 1787, the problem of roads to the Northwest territory had received serious consideration. Washington had had a dream while still in the service of Virginia of a system of canals and roads that would open up the west interior to the markets of his native state. It was in 1777, I think, that Gouverneur Morris first proposed a canal from the Hudson river to the Great Lakes. The old Washington and Braddock roads were early attempts to penetrate the West and men urged repeatedly the extension of these highways into the interior. Maryland and Virginia were both anxious for a connection between the Potomac and the Ohio rivers in order to get the trade of the Ohio valley for Baltimore and Richmond. As early as 1797 a resolution was before Congress for the construction of a road from Cumberland northwest to connect with the Ohio river.

The first definite step was taken by Congress in 1802 when it inserted in the enabling act, admitting Ohio to statehood a clause which provided that 5% of the money received from the sale of public lands in the new state should be set aside and used for the construction of highways, 2% to be reserved for the construction of a road leading from some point on a navigable stream on the Atlantic slope to some point within the borders of Ohio. A Congressional commission was appointed which made a preliminary survey and recommended in 1807 a road from the Cumberland to the Ohio river opposite Steubenville. The next year an act was passed to regulate the laying out and the construction of the road.

The history of this road, "the greatest highway in the world," is most interesting. Its construction covers a period of forty years. It was to be a great national highway from the Potomac to the Mississippi, passing through the capitals of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, a distance of 700 miles. ~~Work was~~ The U.S. ~~comme~~ commenced ~~commenced on~~ the construction it in 1811 and before work ceased ~~the U.S.~~ had spent upon it over seven million dollars. As is well known it was never completed but was turned over to the various states in 1848. It became a momentous factor in the development of the West.

Meanwhile, the various states were taking steps to reach the West. During the decade preceding the war of 1812 the idea was taking hold ~~of~~ on the Atlantic coast states that their future prosperity depended largely upon their reaching the rapidly growing population of the region beyond the Ridge. The city that established the best connections with the interior was destined to be the metropolis of the nation. New York did it by building the Erie canal.

The history of systematic internal improvements in the U.S. really begins with the close of the war of 1812. At that time or soon after nearly every state in the Union took active steps to build canals or roads or both. The National government resumed work on the Cumberland road, which had been suspended during the war, and soon completed it to the Ohio (1818). The Erie canal project took concrete form (1817); Pennsylvania planned a state-wide system of canals and roads; Maryland and Virginia started a movement which ultimately led to the building of the Baltimore and Ohio R.R., all of special importance to Ohio and Indiana.

Project of Md. & Va

N.Y. Project

I have given this brief sketch that ~~we may have in mind what was being done outside of our state to get in business touch with us, and that~~ and we may not lose sight of the fact~~s~~ that Indiana's internal improvement system was merely a part of a nation-wide movement.

Let us now turn to our own state. In 1800 the white population within the limits of the present state of Indiana was estimated at 4,875, consisting mostly of fur traders and frontiersmen~~;-- adventurous spirits who sought the wild life because they loved it~~. They concerned themselves little about the outside world or the markets. ~~(At Vincennes the French dressed like the Indians and lived like them. Clark's grant probably contained the only exceptions).~~ During the next decade the population increased to 24,520, the newcomers being mostly of a different class-- many whites from Kentucky and Virginia, too poor to live in idleness and too proud to work with slaves "niggers"; others from New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey who came to seek permanent homes for themselves and their children. These people settled in the Whitewater valley and along the Ohio and up the tributaries, in all cases staying close to the streams because there they found the best hunting, fishing, and water supply; and also because the waterways were their only highways. Their means of transport were canoes, pirogues, flatboats, and rafts. Their roads were at first only Indian trails, later traces~~,~~ that is, winding ways cut through the forests and unimproved except for split logs or corduroy over the bogs, marshes and mudholes. Their market was New Orleans, whither they transported their surplus products on rafts or flatboats. When the produce was sold they disposed of their flatboats also and usually walked back home. Occasionally a boat would be "poled" up-stream laden with supplies.

1810

After 1810 the tide of immigration turned strongly toward the Northwest territory. Ohio got the greater part, but Indiana's population increased in five years from 24,000 to 63,000, despite the two years' war during which thousands were frightened out of the territory, ~~so that~~ still the people felt of enough importance to petition Congress for statehood. The enabling act was promptly passed in which was included a provision indentical with the one in the Ohio enabling act, setting aside 5% of the revenues from land sales as a road fund, two per cent to be used to build a road to the state and 3% to construct roads within the state. (Indiana had asked for 7%)

With statehood came an immense increase in population. The next U.S. census showed a six-fold increase in the decade, (24,520 to 147,178). Immigrants swarmed up from the south and southeast, settling in the Whitewater region, along the Ohio, up the Wabash and pushing out along the tributaries of these rivers. They were in general of a better class than the earlier immigrants. They came chiefly from New England and the Central Atlantic states and many of them were unused to frontier life. A few had means but most of them were poor people who came to till the soil or engage in mercantile pursuits in the new land of promise. Some idea of the growth of the state in the years immediately following ~~the~~ its admission may be gained from the county map. (Opposite page)

1920

The most important problems of the new state in 1816 were the land question and the market question. By a glance at the map (no.) it will be seen that the Indians still held over two-thirds of the territory and the settlers were crowding upon them.

(Discuss map no.)

Omit or get map

The U.S. government, however, had the duty of getting the land for the people and we have just seen that ~~they~~ it did not long delay to do so; but that which concerned the settlers more than it the possession of the land was how to pay for it. They had bought of the government on credit and could not pay unless they could sell their crops. The only market was still New Orleans and altho the steamboat had come, it was confined to the Ohio river and, at certain seasons of the year only, to a short distance up the Wabash.

It did not take the place of the flatboat for down-stream freighting but it did help greatly in bringing supplies into the settlements. (Falls of Ohio & Grand Rapids of Wabash R hindered navigation much.)

The problem of getting to market, therefore, increased in seriousness as the population increased until it finally became all-absorbing.

Congress was repeatedly asked to assist in making an outlet. As early as 1810 Congress was asked to consider a road from Vincennes to the Ohio state line to connect with the road to Chillicothe; and later a petition was presented for a road from Jeffersonville to Detroit, both aiming to afford connection with the markets of the East. William Hendricks, Indiana's first congressman, championed bills for internal improvements and his successor, Johnathan Jennings, continued to urge the needs of the new state.

At home the people were doing what they could for themselves. Every Legislature devoted much time to the question and made appropriations for building roads and clearing streams. An act was passed in 1818 providing that the road tax might be worked out on the waterways to clear them of sandbars, driftwood, etc. (Divided into sections and "worked", like roads)

The year 1820 may be said the mark the beginning of systematic road making in Indiana. This "system" consisted of plans to keep the waterways open and to construct roads leading to them. In this year the legislature passed a law declaring various rivers and creeks navigable and fixing penalties for obstructing them. Some of these streams are ridiculously small, some are to-day dry beds. Subsequent acts increased the mileage of navigable waters as the settlements moved farther into the interior of the state.

Map no.

{1833 an authority said: 2500 miles of waters rated navigable; he thought this low estimate

In spite of their smallness, these streams were an important factor in the development of the state. Along their banks were built hundreds of flatboats upon which the produce was floated out to market.

The Legislature of 1820 met in the new capital, Indianapolis, located in the New Purchase. The demand for new roads was great and at this session 26 were projected, five leading out from the capital. Considerable revenue was coming in from the 3% fund, to which was added a direct tax and a poll tax. These early roads were not improved in the modern sense of the term. They were merely cleared of timber, graded in some places, with corduroy, or at best split logs over the low places, so that they soon became almost impassable. One ~~writer~~ traveler tells us that he had to "tack to the right and to the left, not to find the road but to get out of it." Each succeeding legislature ~~enacted~~ passed bills for new roads and much money was wasted on commissions, surveys and preliminaries, altho I suspect no more than in other states.

Meanwhile the New Orleans market grew poorer each year as the Mississippi valley poured its ever-increasing volume of products ~~of products~~ into ~~into~~ it, three-fourths of which had to be run out during March. The upper Wabash valley began to fill up with immigrants who pushed their way up from the south and southeast or came across Lake Erie and down the Maumee. "The Wabash ~~crowd~~ people" became stronger and more persistent and the agitation increased for a canal to connect the Wabash with the Maumee which would open the way to the eastern markets via Lake Erie and the Erie canal, now nearing completion. ~~This project had been discussed~~ This plan had been proposed repeatedly since colonial days but it was not till 1824 that it assumed concrete form in an act passed by Congress granting to Indiana a strip of land 320 feet wide on condition that the state build a canal thereon within 12 years. Indiana did not

Ray elected gov'r 1824 on internal improvm't platform accept the offer but asked for more and in 1828 Congress passed a supplementary act granting every alternate section of land for five miles on each side of the canal. This grant was accepted at the next session of the Legislature and thus the state stood committed to the building of the canal. Under the law three commissioners were appointed but upon taking up the work they found themselves without authority. Then began a four years' contest in the Legislature. "The Whitewater group",which from the admission of the state had waged a sectional fight,hung back for a deal,played politics and delayed the work.

The route was surveyed in 1828 when it was found that part of it lay in Ohio. This part Ohio agreed to build for a share of the land grant. Meanwhile there had developed a railroad party which ~~hindered the project by its opposition.~~ vigorously opposed the project Governor Ray in 1827 had a vision of the coming of railroads and predicted a system of lines radiating from Indianapolis,reaching out to every county in the ~~sta~~ state. In 1830 he suggested a railroad from Detroit to Lake Mich. thence via Indpls to the Ohio river. (L.S.& M.S. & Monon ?)
A score of railroads ~~were~~ had been incorporated before any construction work was done on the canal but ~~XXX~~ none had passed beyond the paper stage.

Finally in 1832 a law was secured which permitted the construction of the canal to commence. It provided for a ~~canal~~ fund to be in charge of three ~~fund~~ commissioners with power to borrow money at 6%, pledging as security the lands,tolls,and the faith of the state. These commissioners constituted a board independent of the construction commissioners. They proceeded to have the land surveyed and offered for sale,fixing the price at $1.50 to $3.50 per acre. Bonds were prepared to the amount of $1,000,000 and sold in New York.

The canal was divided into sections about one-half mile long and before the end of the year 1832 thirty eight contracts had been let,covering about 20 miles. The fund commissioners hired

Samuel Hanna, a good financier, to handle their business and the canal commissioners secured Jesse L. Williams, a very efficient engineer, to oversee all the construction work and everything was proceeding well. Opposition quickly melted after this and the building of the canal was accepted as the settled policy of the state. The question then changed to "how can we get a canal for our section?" + came from various part of state Talk about a state system of canals and roads began to be heard. Nearly every state in the Union was either actually engaged upon extensive internal improvements or was agitating the question. The newspapers were full of accounts of improvements being made in other states. Reports of the success of the Erie canal were most flattering. New York City was outstripping her competitors because of the Canal. Everybody admitted that something must be done but each section was jealous of the others and did not want to be considered second. The group crowd from the Whitewater district, still the most populous section of the state, wanted a canal built up the Whitewater river; the "Wabash band" wanted their project completed first; the people of the southwest part of the state were clamoring for improvements.

The legislature of 1834 spent nearly all its time in trying to frame a bill for a general system of improvements. It was a session noted for its wrangling and scheming. Its keynote was barter and trade. "You grant us this and we'll give you that." The session ended with nothing accomplished except the passage of an act for the extension of the Wabash and Erie canal to Lafayette. Seven hundred and twenty nine thousand dollars had been spent already and it was estimated that it would take ~~$1,000,~~ $100,000 more to complete the work to "Lafayette, the great steamboat landing and commercial center of the region." The next year the struggle was continued throughout the session of the legislature and finally there was patched together an omnibus bill for a system of canals, pikes and railroads estimated to cost $5,910,000. There was, however, such strong opposition to the measure that it did not pass.

During the following summer (1835) political speakers went up and down the state haranguing the people on the blessings that would accrue from a system of internal improvements: it would vastly increase the value of their property; it would bring ready markets and high prices; the canals would from the very start bring in enough revenue not only to take care of the state debt incurred in the building but to relieve them for all time from taxation. The people were thoroughly aroused and elected a legislature which lost no time in passing the so-called "mammoth bill", after including in it a pike from New Albany to Vincennes to conciliate the faction from that section of the state. Thus was Indiana launched upon the most important enterprise in its history which called for an estimated expenditure of $13,000,000, a sum equal to one-sixth the wealth of the state at that time. Had the project been completed it would have cost not less than $30,000,000.

(See next page and map opposite)

The act of 1836 provided for the construction of-

1. A canal from Hagerstown down the Whitewater to Lawrenceburg; a canal or railroad from the Whitewater to connect with the Central canal Appropriation, $1,400,000

(Muncie)

2. Central canal from some point on Wabash river to Muncietown, thence to Indianapolis and down the White river to the Forks, thence by best route to Evansville. Appropriation, $3,500,000.
3. Extension of the Wabash and Erie canal to Terre Haute, thence southeast via Eel river to connect with the Central canal at the mouth of Black creek. Appropriation, $1,300,000.
4. A railroad from Madison via Columbus, Indianapolis, Crawfordsville to Lafayette. Appropriation, $1,300,000.
5. Macadamized pike from New Albany, via Greenville, Paoli, Washington to Vincennes. Appropriation, $1,150,000.
6. Resurvey of road from Jeffersonville via New Albany, Salem, Bedford, Bloomington, Greencastle to Crawfordsville and construction of a railroad if practicable; if not, a macadamized pike. Appropriation, $1,300,000.
7. Clearing the obstructions from the Wabash river. Appropriation, $50,000
8. A canal from Ft. Wayne via Goshen, South Bend, and Laporte to to Lake Michigan: if canal not practicable, a railroad. To be commenced within ten years. over

out

(National road blt. by U.S. from land sales; over $1,000,000 spent in Indiana; turned over to state by act of Cong., 1848, accepted in 1849 and sections put into hands of private parties who repaired them for tolls.)

(Ohio-Michigan road from Madison to Michigan City built from land grant made in 1827. Cost about $54,000, while land yielded $52,000.)

Under this internal improvement act a general fund was provided for, to consist of the proceeds of loans, grants, profits, appropriations, tolls and rents. Nine commissioners were to be appointed with authority to borrow ten million dollars at six per cent on 25 years' time, for the payment of which the state's every resource was pledged. In addition to the projects already enumerated the state fathered the Indianapolis and Lawrenceburg railroad, a private corporation to the extent of giving it the right to borrow $500,000 on the credit of the state, with no security except a mortgage on some wild lands.. Finally the state pledged itself to build each and all lines with all haste.

The passage of this measure was hailed with joy all over the state. Celebrations were held and speeches filled with the wildest prophecies were the order of the day. Outside the state also the spirit and enterprise of the young commonwealth were commended and a successful outcome was predicted.

The immediate effect of the law was a boom over the whole state, especially along the proposed roads and waterways. New towns sprang up over night, *on paper*. Land that had been bought within a year for three dollars per acre was divided into town lots and sold at from $50 to $200 per lot.

Governor Noble did not delay long in the appointment of the commissioners provided for by the act. The first commission consisted of Samuel Hall of Gibson co., T.H.Blake of Vigo co., D.H.Maxwell of Monroe, J.G.Clendennin of Orange, John Woodburn of Jefferson and Elisha Long of Wayne, together with the three members of the old Wabash and Erie board, J.B.Johnson of Tippecanoe, ~~xxx~~ Samuel Lewis of Allen and Daniel Burr of Marion. At the first meeting of the board the sectional fight was resumed. Each commissioner was to oversee the work of his district and wanted his job to start first. Finally, they decided to put first under ~~cotract~~ contract the lines that would soonest yield revenue. out (Jesse L. Williams was named as chief-engineer, with 12 resident engineers to oversee the work of the various sections, and in addition about 75 surveyors at an annual expense of $54,000 . (Wm. J. Ball of T.H. was engr. for the Cut-off.) These men formed the famous "Eating Brigade".) Then orders were given to start the work on-

as a result Seven projects started at one time:

1. Whitewater canal between Lawrenceville and Brookville.
2. Madison & Indpls R.R. for 22 miles north from Madison.
3. Wabash canal west to Lafayette.
4. The "Cross-cut" canal from Terre Haute to the White river
5. Central canal north of Evansville
6. Grading and bridging the New Albany-Vincennes pike.
7. Central canal from the feeder above Indpls to Port Royal Bluffs.
8. Jeffersonville & Crawfordsville road, 20 miles.

It is difficult to see how the commissioners expected to get quick financial returns from such a plan of construction. Had they concentrated all the work upon the Wabash and Erie canal, or the Whitewater canal, or the Madison and Indpls. R.R. they might have brought it to a revenue paying basis. But it was just another case of compromise: each commissioner got a concession. Then troubles began. The people began to criticise. The legislature took up the quarrel. Everybody admitted that the best policy would be to build one line at a time but which was it to be?

The first annual report was a forecast of failure. Scarcity of labor had prevented the letting of many contracts; contractors were bidding against eachother in the labor market. The state was offering cheap land to settlers, thus bidding against the contractors. The character of the improvements was still unsettled: should there be a pike or a railroad on the Madison line? a pike, a railroad, or macadam on the New Albany-Greencastle line? a canal or a railroad from Ft. Wayne to Lake Michigan? a canal or a railroad from Richmond to Muncie? Other states, particularly Michigan and Illinois, were engaged in the construction of similar systems and drawing heavily upon the labor market. These states and others were also flooding the eastern markets with bonds. The first year's expenses amounted to nearly $4,000,000 and no provision had been made for the payment of the interest. In the East the panic was upon them and banks were beginning to fail so that the bonds could be floated only at heavy discount. But Indiana was still booming under an inflated and unnatural condition. The money was coming in and labor was plentiful. Nobody dreamed that good times would not last.

During the next year (1838) the surveying parties were active and considerable construction work was done, some on nearly every line. But matters were approaching a crisis. When the next legislature convened Gov. Wallace in his message gave figures which showed that the interest due on the state's bonds was over four times the total revenue of the state from taxation. The fund commissioner reported that he had expended over $5,000,000. The situation had become desperate. Everything was muddled. The legislature attempted to straighten affairs out by putting the finances into the hands of two men and reducing the board to three members, who were ordered to classify the works and build one at a time, but the order came too late. Seven months later the whole system collapsed and all labor ceased (Aug. 1839). Barely three years after the works were begun they were deliberately abandoned because the state was hopeless-

-Cy

ly bankrupt. Widespread disaster followed. The contractors were nearly all bankrupted, leaving thousands of laborers unpaid and without work at a time when the country was in the midst of a panic. The people were amazed. Business was paralyzed, for so great was the undertaking that it had become a vital part of the whole commercial life of the state.

Over ten million dollars had been expended and not a single work completed. (skip out over next page) [On the Jeffersonville and Crawfordsville road $339,183 had been spent. Four squads of surveyors worked four seasons and each made a different report. Sections north from Greencastle and south from Salem were partly graded but nothing was completed. "Fishing is said to be good along this line." On the Lafayette and Indpls line $73,142 had been put and the road was piked from Lafayette to Crawfordsville. $14,288 had been spent on the Wabash rapids. The Whitewater canal was nearly completed to Brookville (31 miles) at a cost of $1,092,175. The Madison and Indpls. R.R. was built from the Madison bluffs for 28-1/2 miles north at a cost of $1,624,603-- about $58,000 per mile. (Line finished by private co. for $11,000 per mile). (Upon the Wabash and Erie had been expended $4,300,558 and the construction work was pretty well advanced as far as Lafayette.) The Cross-cut canal had cost $436,189 with nothing finished. The south division of the Central canal was built for 19 miles along Pigeon creek at a cost of $575,646 and the north division had cost $882,088 for 24 miles— 8 miles north of Indianapolis and 16 miles south. The New Albany-Vincennes road was piked from ~~Madis~~ N.A. to Paoli (41 m.) and graded 27 miles beyond, for over $10,000 per mile, or $696,576 for the 68 miles. Practically no construction work had been done on the Ft. Wayne-Michigan canal but it had cost $160,708, consumed by the "Eating Brigade".

out

out

start

Looking backward, one can see very clearly the causes of the failure of the system. In the first place it is very doubtful if any part of the works undertaken could have been made to yield the state any great amount of revenue but all possibility of any such return was destroyed by the mismanagement and dishonesty of those who had ~~the~~ been entrusted with the business. Under the law of 1836 the old fund commission, appointed for the Wabash and Erie canal in 1832, was continued and entrusted with the handling of the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ internal improvement bonds. These securities were sold in large amounts on credit in direct violation of the law; no books were kept; the annual reports were incomplete and inconsistent. There was no supervision and no check was placed upon the commissioners. When the crash came the people accused the commissioners of making large sums of ~~mo~~ money and demanded an investigation. To satisfy this clamor the legislature made a pretense of investigating. It called for reports and the commissioners responded with 35 of them, 17 to the House and 18 to the Senate, all of which did not clear up anything. The legislature spent the whole session in wrangling while the stealing went on. When an investigation was finally made it was found that over $3,000,000 in bonds had been disposed of for which the state had received nothing. It had been the practise among the commissioners to divide up the bonds among themselves and dispose of them as each thought best. At least two of the commissioners were members of firms to whom large quantities of bonds were sold, thus acting as both buyer ~~a~~ and seller.) (E.g.- The Morris Canal and Banking Co. owed the state $2,536,611 when it failed. Dr. Coe, one of the fund comm'rs was a stockholder in this firm, "worst type of a private corporation.")

Omit

*

stop over

Says a writer in N.A.R.: "The discovery had been made that the people of the East were laboring under a plethora of the purse from which they would rejoice to be relieved by the phlebotomizing process of a loan to any who could promise to relieve them of the care of their money"

Bad management was also shown in the attempts to float the bonds too rapidly in an over-stocked market during a period of general depression.

To this muddling of the financial affairs,those charged with the work of construction added their quota toward final failure by their plan of commencing all the works at once, which required the expenditure of vast sums of money,made the contractors competitors against one another in the labor market,and prevented any one project from becoming a source of revenue.

After the work stopped the financial outlook did not improve. The New York bankers were demanding their ~~money~~ interest and the contractors wanted ~~their claims settled,~~ a settlement of their claims,amounting to over a million dollars. In 1840 the legislature authorized an issue of $1,200,000 in treasury notes to pay the contractors. Ex-Gov. Noble was put on the reorganized board to straighten out its affairs. The state debt was found to be over $13,000,000 . Congress was petitioned to assume the debt and take the proceeds of land sales in payment but it declined to do so. The following year the legislature passed an act providing for the completion of the Whitewater canal and the Madison and Indpls.R.R. without delay but nothing was done. The session of 1842 enacted another law empowering the governor, the auditor and the state treasurer to transfer the various properties to private companies. Under this act the Whitewater canal passed into ~~the~~ private hands and was finally completed (1846) to Cambridge City,a distance of 76 miles.

Cost to co $743.000

Extension to Hagerstown by another company

(The valley proved too steep to hold it and ~~exp~~ expenses for repairs and upkeep were heavy. In 1865 it was paralleled by a R.R. & put out of business.)

The Madison and Indpls R.R. was leased in 1840 for 60% of its gross earnings. Three years later it was sold to a company for $200,000 to be paid in four years. The company prospered for several years but paid the state nothing. Finally,in 1855

less than 1/8 cost

a legislative committee was appointed to investigate and reported in favor of accepting a compromise settlement of $75,000 in out state 5% stock, worth at the time about 30¢ on the dollar. The report was accepted and the state therefore received about $22,500 for property which had cost nearly two millions.

Begin ~~Mxxxxx~~ all The ~~other~~ works were either abandoned outright or disposed of ~~for merely a nominal~~ sum, except the Wabash and Erie canal. This canal was a more difficult problem. The honor of the state had been pledged to Congress by the acceptance of the land grant and to Ohio ~~because~~ which she had built 71 miles of canal the value of which depended almost entirely upon Indiana's building her part. So it was decided to finish it as far as + Terre Haute. The commissioners let contracts from time to time for as much as could be paid for. Canal scrip was issued, receivable for lands, tolls, etc. The work was finished by 1843 to Lafayette, but altho the tolls increased five-fold still they did not pay the upkeep.

Meanwhile a Mr. M. G. Bright, who had been appointed (1841) to look after the state property in litigation in New York, was working to straighten out matters and to realize on the bonds which had been hypothecated by the fund commissioners. After long and faithful work from which he realized about enough to cover his expenses he reported that the state had issued bonds for fifteen million dollars and had realized on them in cash $8,593,000; had worthless securities for about $4,000,000; that the state officials had embezzled over $2,000,000; and that there were over $2,000,000 in state bonds out and unaccounted for.

Although everybody felt that the state had been swindled, yet public sentiment seemed to favor the payment of the bonds to retrieve the state's honor. The legislature protested repeatedly honest intention but there was nothing to pay with. At last the bondholders sent Chas.Butler,a New York lawyer,to Indiana to obtain a settlement. He opened his campaign with a speech in Terre Haute in the summer of 1845 in which he made a proposition to divide the state debt into two parts, one half to be paid by the state,the other half by the revenues from the canal. To the assembly when it met he presented a plan which would have involved in its ~~wa~~acceptance an acknowledgement of the whole debt. This was endorsed by the governor but rejected by the legislature. Ohio made a state levy of 70¢ and ultimately paid all her obligations. Indiana might have done as well but the senate was whig and the house democratic and the political game was played. A new bill was drafted,passed and on January 19,1846 received the governor's signature. By this act the state agreed to pay the principal of the entire debt,by ~~ref~~ refunding with 5%,twenty year bonds upon which the state was to pay half the interest and the proceeds of the canal the other half. The bondholders were to raise $2,225,000 and complete the canal to the Ohio river. The canal was to be placed in trust and its earnings and land grant pledged for the payment of the bonds. This settlement did not suit the bondholders and at the next session of the legislature Mr.Butler appeared again with a new proposal. After a long and bitter fight an amendment was secured to the law which divided the debt into two parts. The state obligated itself to pay one half,while for the other half the bondholders were given the canal. (The law provided that "the state will make no provision hereafter to pay either principal or interest on any internal improvement bonds until the holders shall have surrendered such bonds to the agent of the state and shall have received in lieu thereof certificates of stock as provided in the first section of this act.")

Thus did the state through the act of its legislature repudiate practically one-half of a debt of over thirteen millions (Principal & int.$13,120,692) By this action both parties were wronged: the innocent investors in the state bonds and the citizens of Indiana- the former of their money and the latter of their credit and honor. True, most of the bonds had been illegally disposed of on credit and over a third of them by criminal collusion of state agents but they were at this time mostly in the hands of innocent purchasers.

The Butler bill turned over the canal to the bondholders who grasped their only hope and continued the construction against many difficulties. Much damage was done by floods in 1848-49; cholera broke out in '49; more floods in '52; more cholera in '52. The cholera seriously interrupted traffic, practically stopped the sale of lands, and demoralized the construction gangs. The frightened workmen fled all over the country carrying the contagion with them. (T.H.Blake, one of the canal board, fell a victim to the disease in '52.)

Com'rs:
Chas Butler
N.B. Palmer
T.H.Blake.
Thos. Dowling succeeded
Blake in 1852

Canal boats reached Coal creek, 36 miles north of Terre Haute, in 1848 and the following summer traffic was opened to Terre Haute. Washington was reached in 1850 and in 1854 the canal was practically completed to Evansville, establishing a through route to Toledo. (375m. in Indiana, 84 m. in Ohio)

As the work was completed the troubles increased rather than diminished. Floods came repeatedly to tie up navigation and cause heavy damages only to be followed by periods of drought during which the boats would be grounded for days while their cargoes of perishable freight suffered seriously. The citizens along the route added their quota to the company's troubles. In 1853 ~~the~~ a large reservoir was built on Birch creek in Clay county as a feeder to the Eel river division. This the natives believed a malaria breeder and in 1855 they blackened their faces and at midday cut the dam, leaving this section of the canal dry. The governor called out the militia who guarded it several weeks but as soon as the~~y~~ troops were withdrawn the dam was again cut and the people did not rest till the reservoir was totally destroyed and the whole section of the canal rendered practically useless. Then the people along the route harassed the company with suits for damages on account of floods and accidents due to the canal. Bridges and other wood constructions were rotting, causing a constant increase in expenses for repairs. For three or four years the recepits for tolls ~~s~~ showed a fair margin over expenditures. The banner year was 1853 when the net revenue was enough to pay about one and one half per cent on the millions which the canal represented to the bondholders. From then on the returns decreased. Tolls dropped quickly below expenses. The railroads came to give the final death blow. The Evansville and Terre Haute, the Fort Wayne and Covington, and the Crawfordsville and Vincennes were all in operation by 1856, parallel~~l~~ing the canal all the way from Ft. Wayne to Evansville. In 1857 repairs cost nearly double the toll~~s~~ receipts and the stockholders ordered the trustees to close any part not paying expenses. The line from Terre Haute to Evansville was closed at once. All the officers of the company were discharged in 1859. The next year sections of the canal were offered to anyone who would keep them in repair for ~~t~~ their use, but for all practical purposes the great canal was a thing of the past.

F.W. & C. now part of Wabash RR.

1860. Wabash RR. put canal out of business by a rate war.

Total cost of W. & E. Canal = $6,325,252. (Whitford)

The bondholders naturally felt greatly wronged. They had ~~10s~~ lost not only half of the fifteen millions which was due them in 1847 but what they had paid to complete the construction for which ~~which~~ they had practically nothing of value to show. They blamed the state for having cheated them ~~cheatted them~~ out of their money. In 1857 they appealed again to the legislature for redress on the grounds that the state had not fulfilled its obligations under the act of 1847; that the value of the canal had been overestimated to them ; that the state had charterd railroads parallel to the canal and thus destroyed its value; that the state had failed to protect the property against the lawlessness of its citizens. This petition the legislature rejected but the stockholders were not silenced and there were good citizens of Indiana who sympathized with them. Finally, in order to make it impossible for any weak-kneed legislature in the future to yield to their pleas, the constitution was amended in 1873 forbidding the passage of any law or resolution recognizing any liability of the state in the matter of the canal bonds. (Art.X, sec.7 of constitution.).

So closes the story of Indiana's beautiful dream which turned into a nightmare. What success might have attended the project started in 1827 had it been efficiently and honestly managed we can only conjecture. As it turned out it will go down in history as Indiana's big blunder.

Finis.

Ap. p.4

In 1801 no gov't land for sale in the territory; none surveyed except Clark's grant; tract around Vincennes claimed under an old Frecnh-Indian treaty.

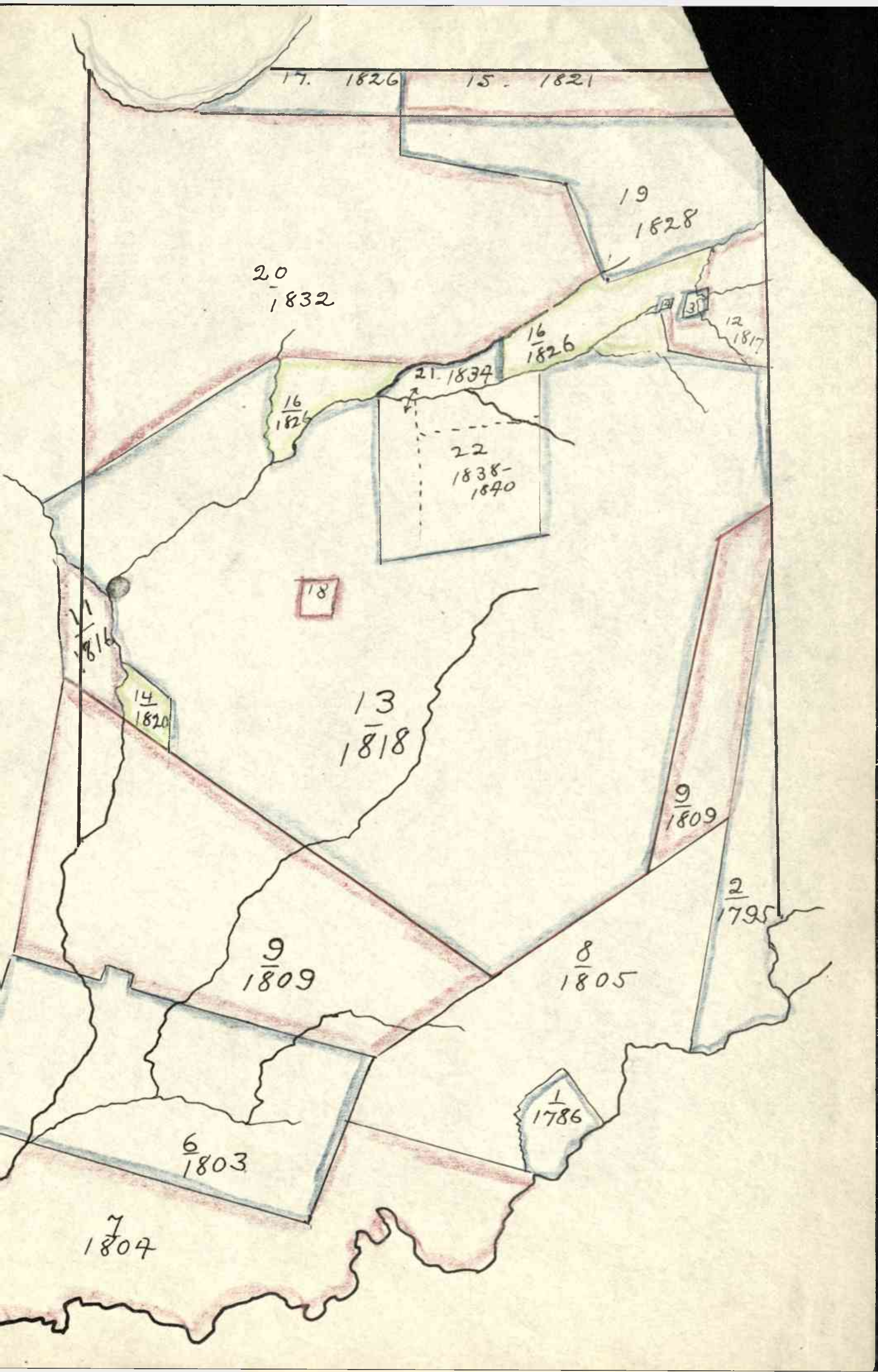
1. Clark's grant from Virginia. 150,000 A. survey in 500 A. lots 1786
2. Greenville treaty. "The Gore" 1795
3-4. Vincennes tr. 1802. Tract at Ft.Wayne & Wabash portage.
6. Treaties of Ft.Wayne & [illegible], 1803. Vincennes tract. (Vincennes)
7. Treaties of St.Louis and Vincennes, 1804 Lower Ohio district.
8. Treaties of Vincennes and Grouseland, 1805 Upper Ohio around Clark's grant?
9-10. Tr.of Ft.Wayne, 1809. Harrison's grant

11. . . . . 1816. Tract west of Wabash R. on Vermillion R.
12. . . . . 1817. Tract about Ft.Wayne.

13. Treaty of Ft.Wayne, 1818. The "New Purchase."

14 . . . . 1820. Strip lying on E.side of Wabash north of Harrison's grant.
15. Tr. of Chicago, 1821. Strip along north border E.of South Bend.
16-17. Tr.of Missisinewa. North side of Wabash, bet.Logansport and Ft.Wayne, and north border of state west of S.Bend.
18. 1828. Thornton reservation ceded.
19. Tr.of Carey Mission. NE corner of state.
20. " " Tippecanoe. NW section of the state.

21-22. Treaties of 1834, 1838, 1840. Miami reservation ceded, last lagge Indian reservation in the state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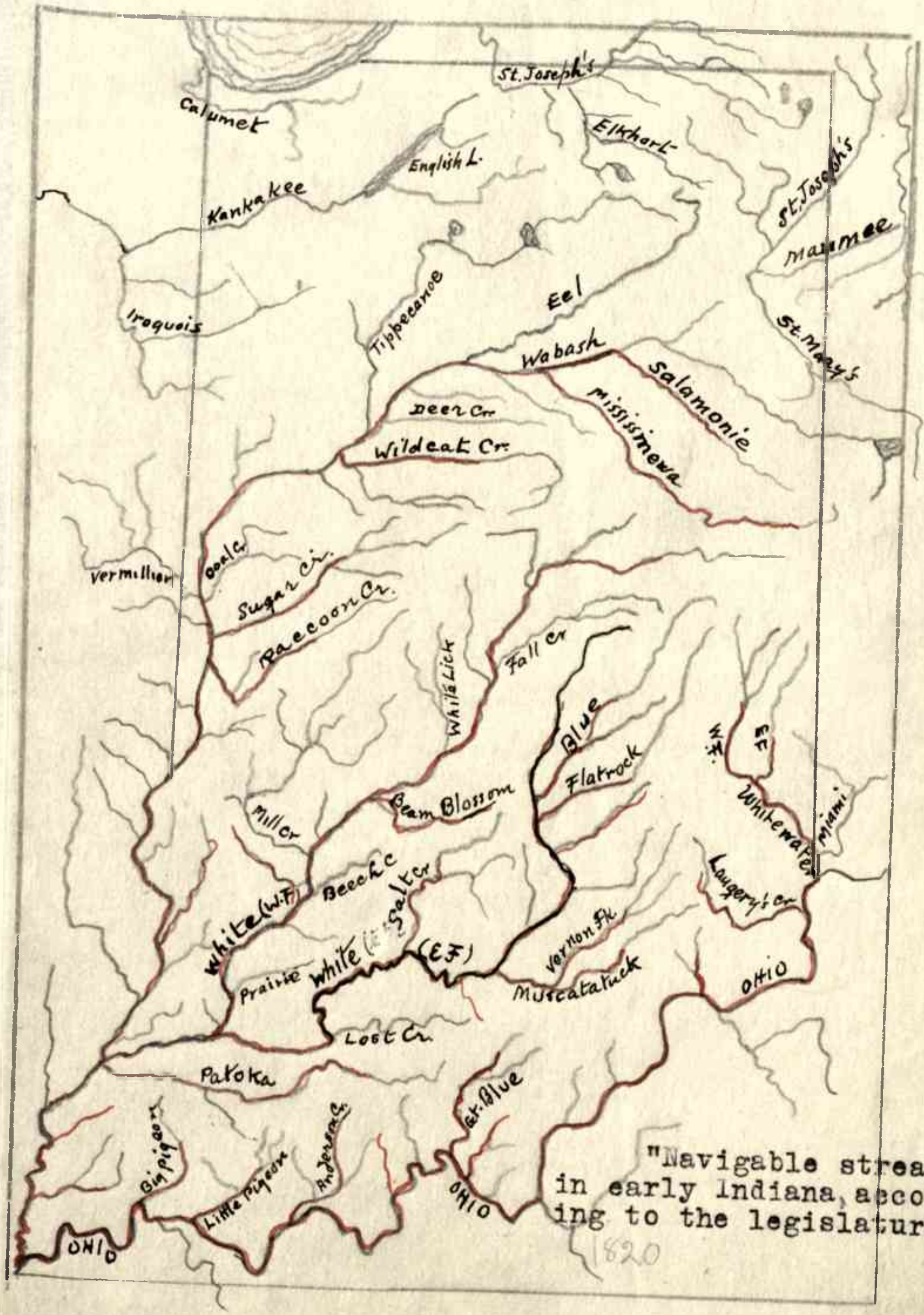
6 1803
7 1804


St. Joseph's
Calumet
English L.
Elkhart
St. Joseph's
Kankakee
Maumee
Iroquois
Tippecanoe
Eel
St. Mary's
Wabash
Salamonie
Mississinewa
Deer Cr.
Wildcat Cr.
Vermillion
Coal Cr.
Sugar Cr.
Raccoon Cr.
White Lick
Fall Cr.
Blue
Flatrock
W.F.
E.F.
Whitewater
Miami
Beam Blossom
Mill Cr.
Beech C.
Salt Cr.
White (W.F.)
White (E.F.)
(E.F.)
Prairie
Vernon Fk.
Laugery's Cr.
Muscatatuck
Ohio
Lost Cr.
Patoka
Big Pigeon
Little Pigeon
Anderson C.
Lt. Blue
Ohio
Ohio

"Navigable streams" in early Indiana, according to the legislature.

1820

See p. 5.

Note.- Ohic Falls Canal
Earliest attempt by company mostly from Clark co.,1805
Subscr. $120,000.
Ohio more concerned ab.canal than Ind.

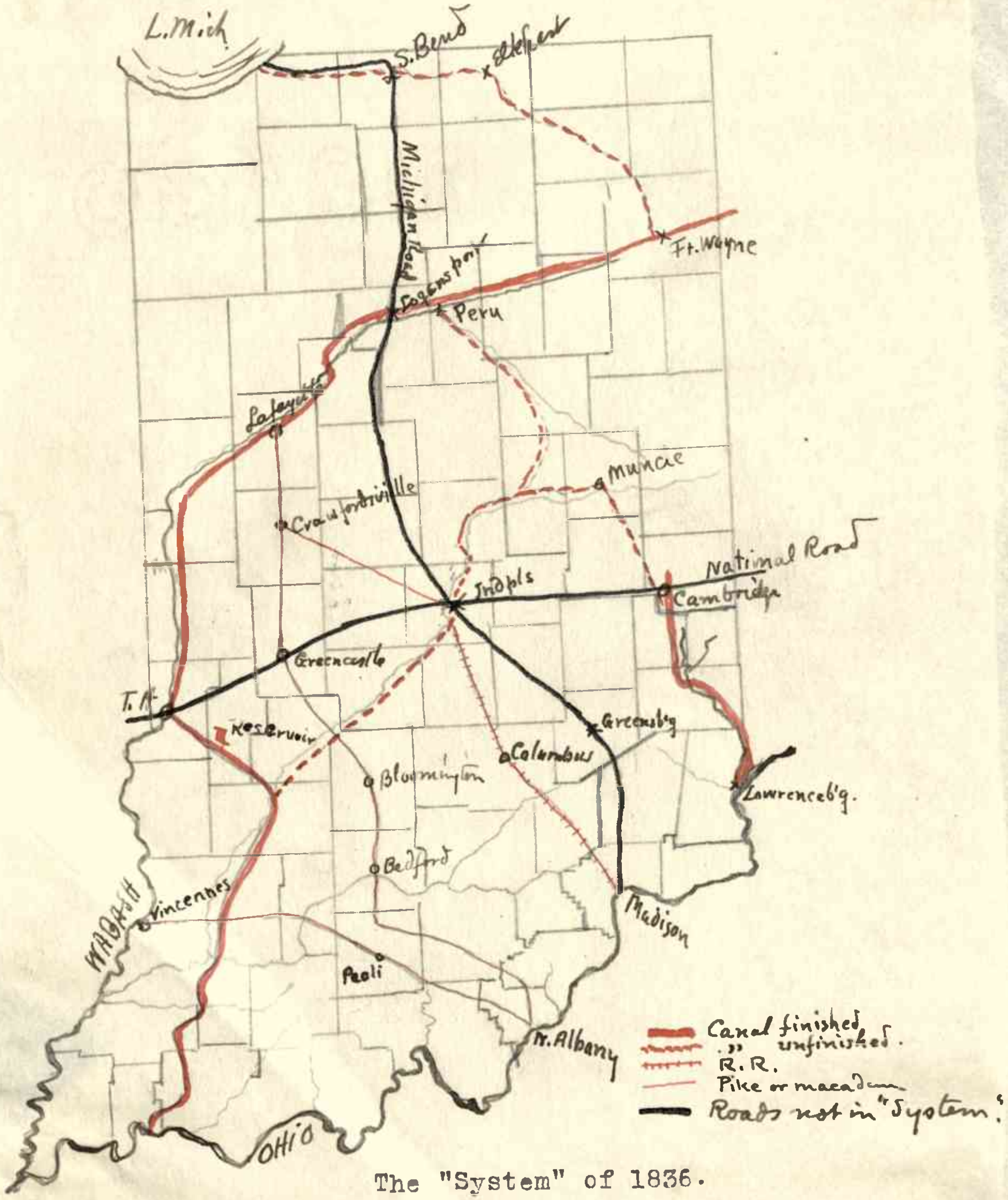
Legislature of 1816 incorporated "Ohio Falls Canal Co."
Cap.$1,000,000. Could not raise the money.

1818 another co. incorp'd with increased powers. Authorized to raise $100,000 by lottery. Work begun 1819 but failed for lack of labor and money.
1825 Kentucky chartered a co. backed by Philadelphia capital whci built the canal with aid of ca.$300,000 from Congress. Opened 1829;entirely finished in 1831.
On ky.side of river.

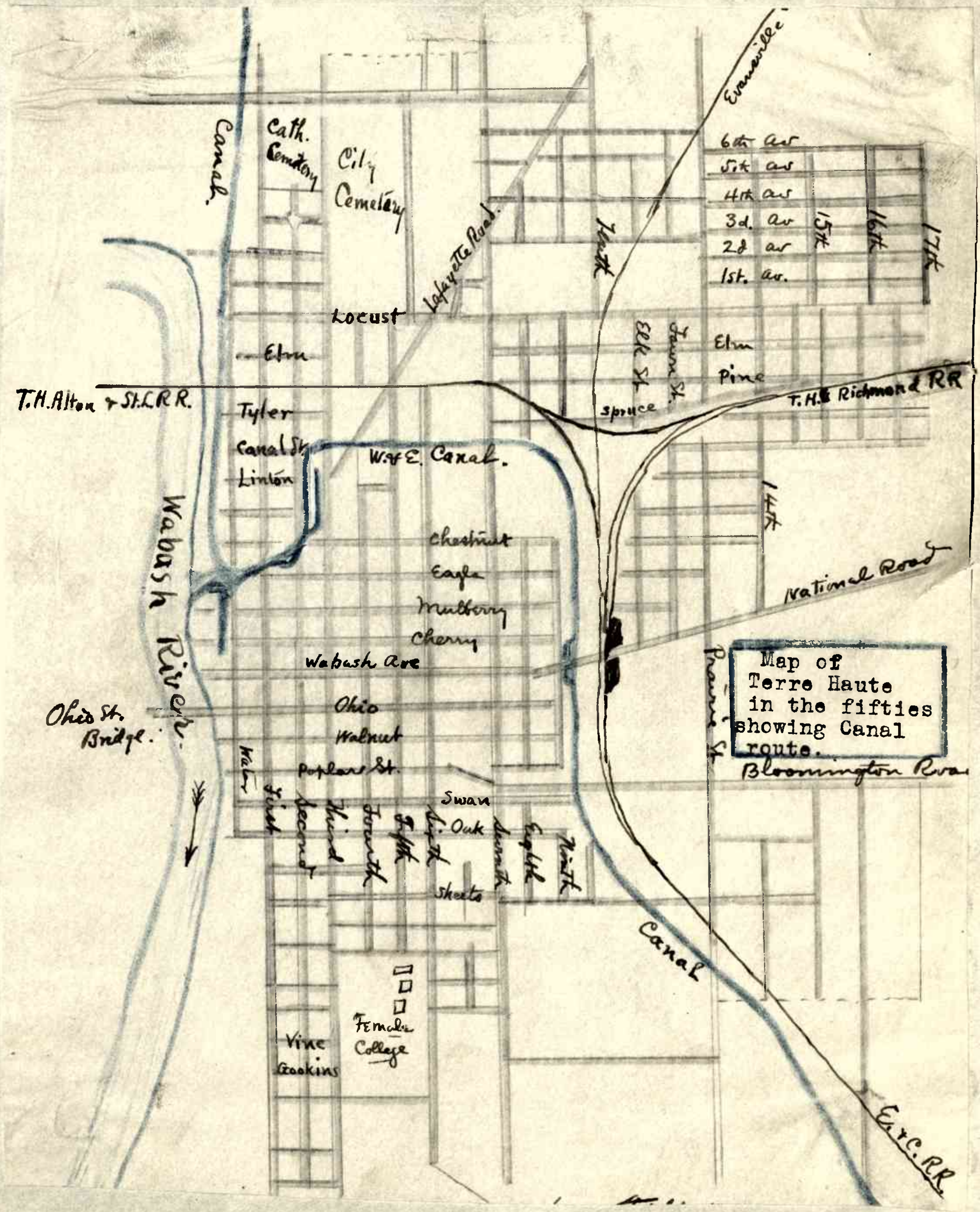
Michigan road.

Treaty with Missisinewas gave strip 100 ft. wide for road from Lake Michigan to the Wabash, one section of land per mile to build it. Begun 1828.

9-10.


L. Mich
S. Bend
Elkhart
Michigan Road
Logansport
Peru
Ft. Wayne
Lafayette
Crawfordsville
Muncie
National Road
Indpls
Cambridge
Greencastle
T. H.
Reservoir
Greensbg
Columbus
Bloomington
Lawrenceb'g.
Bedford
Vincennes
WABASH
Madison
Paoli
N. Albany
OHIO
Canal finished
" unfinished.
R.R.
Pike or macadam
Roads not in "System".

The "System" of 1836.


Canal
Cath. Cemetery
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Lafayette Road.
Evansville
Ninth
6th av
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Elm
Elk St
Fawn St.
Elm
Pine
T.H.Alton & St.L.R.R.
Tyler
Canal St
Linton
W.& E. Canal.
Spruce
T.H.& Richmond RR
14th
Chestnut
Eagle
Mulberry
Cherry
National Road
Wabash Ave
Wabash River
Ohio St. Bridge.
Ohio
Walnut
Poplar St.
Prairie St
Bloomington Road
Water
First
Second
Third
Fourth
Fifth
Sixth
Swan
Oak
Seventh
Eighth
Ninth
Sheets
Canal
E.& C. RR
Female College
Vine
Gookins

Map of
Terre Haute
in the fifties
showing Canal
route.

In 1801 no gov't land for sale in the territory; none surveyed except Clark's grant; tract around Vincennes claimed under an old Frecnh-Indian treaty.

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in 500 A. lots 1786
2. Greenville treaty. "The Gore" 1795
3-4. Vincennes tr. 1802. Tract at Ft.Wayne &
Wabash portage.
6.Treaties of Ft.Wayne & ~~St.Louis~~,1803.
Vincennes tract. (Vincennes)
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Lower Ohio district.
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Upper Ohio around Clark's grant?
9-10. Tr.of Ft.Wayne,1809. Harrison's grant

11.......... .. .. 1816. Tract west of Wabash R.
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state west of S.Bend.
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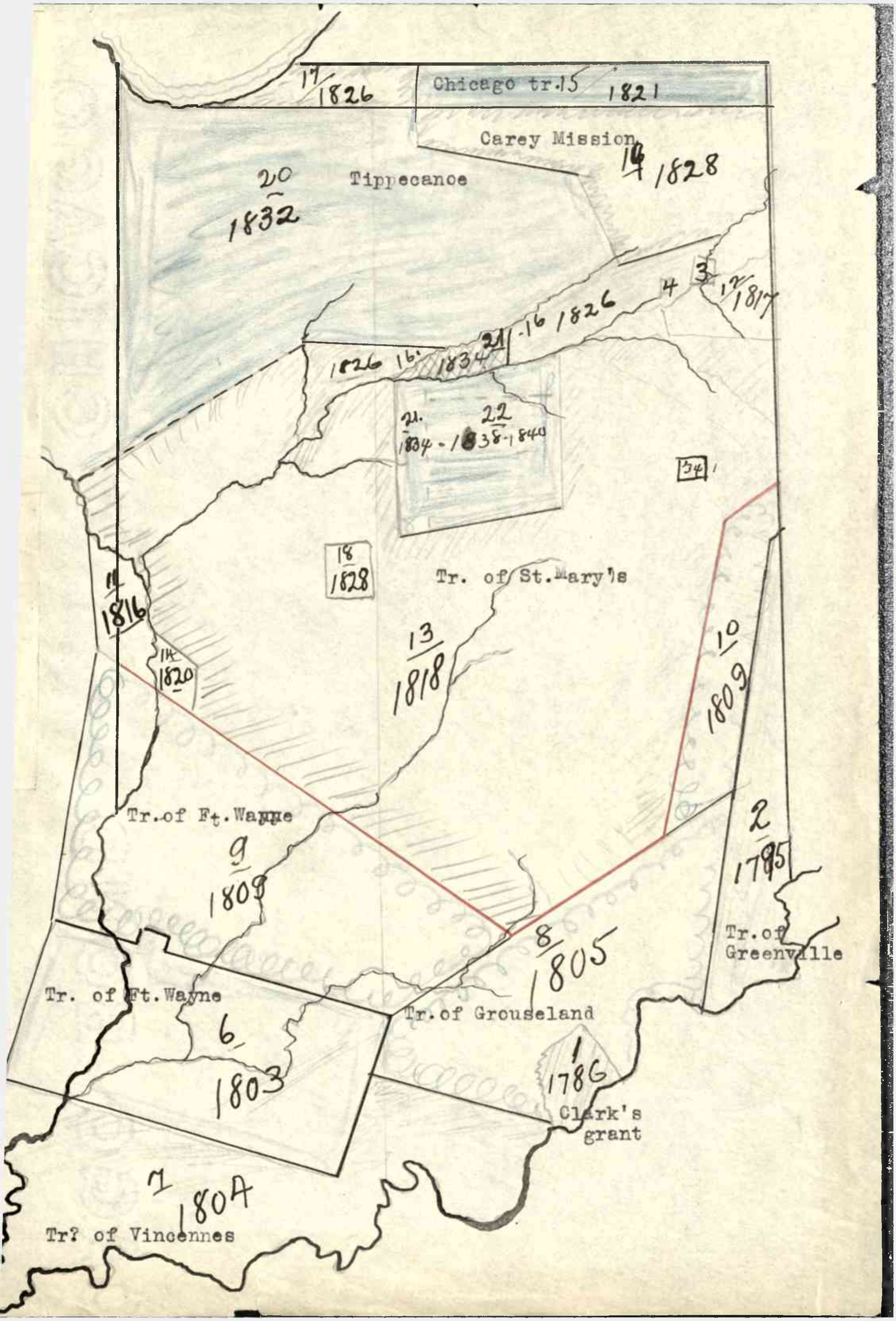
21-22. Treaties of 1834,1838,1840. Miami reservation
ceded, last large Indian reservation in the state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Chicago tr. 15 1821
Carey Mission
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21. 1834 - 22 1838 - 1840
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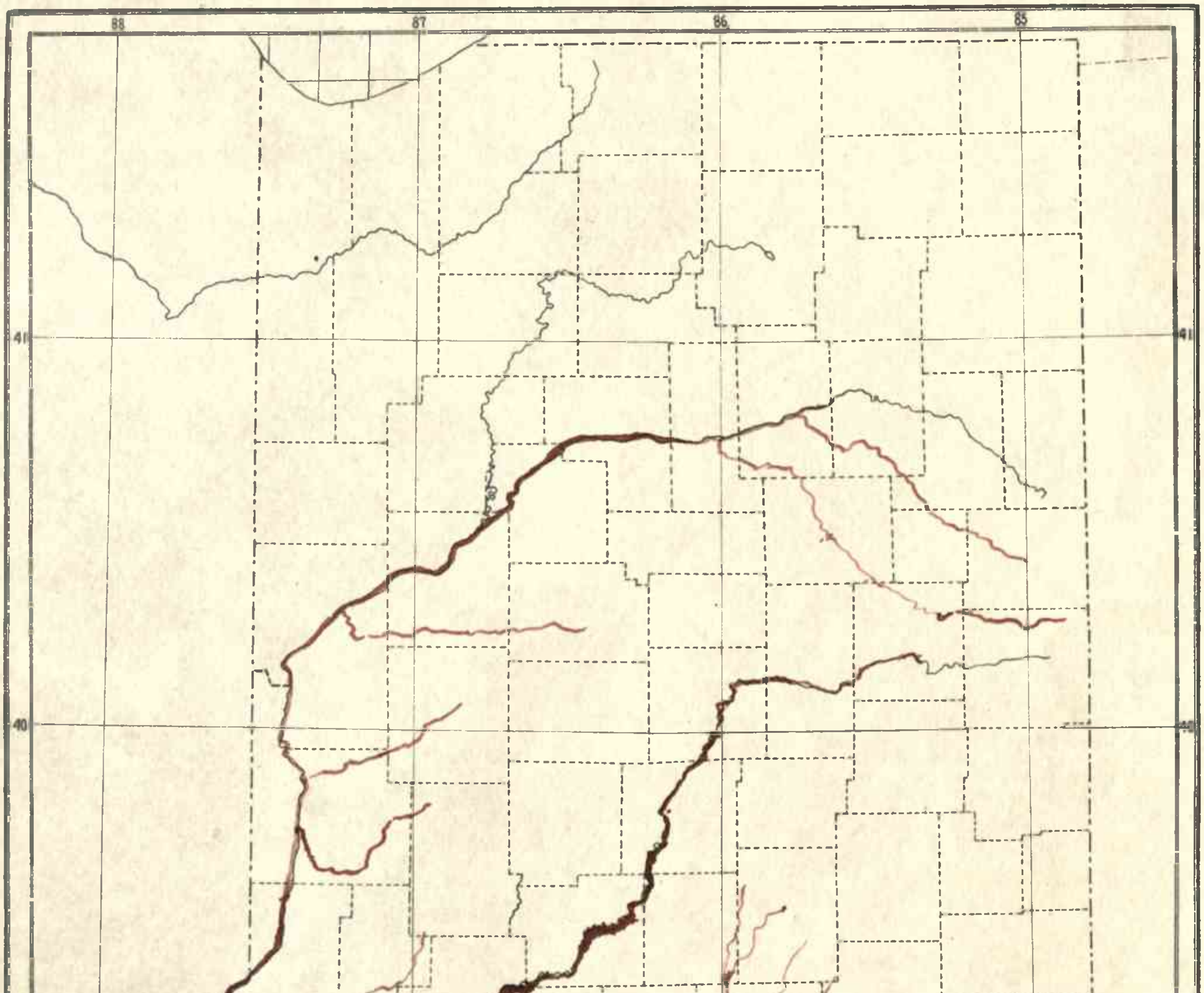
18/1828
Tr. of St. Mary's
13/1818
11/1816
14/1820
10/1809
Tr. of Ft. Wayne
9/1809
2/1795
Tr. of Greenville
8/1805
Tr. of Ft. Wayne
Tr. of Grouseland
6/1803
1/1786
Clark's grant
7/1804
Tr? of Vincennes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INDIANA
SCALE OF MILES

JOHNSTON SERIES OF DESK MAPS

No. D 113

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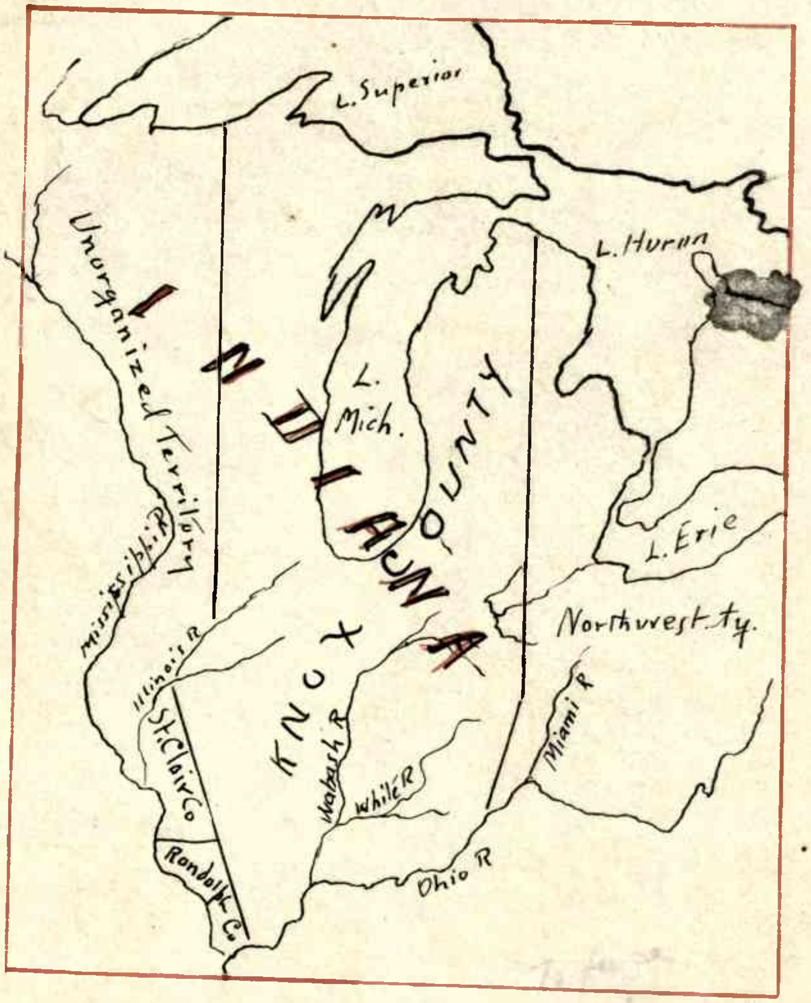
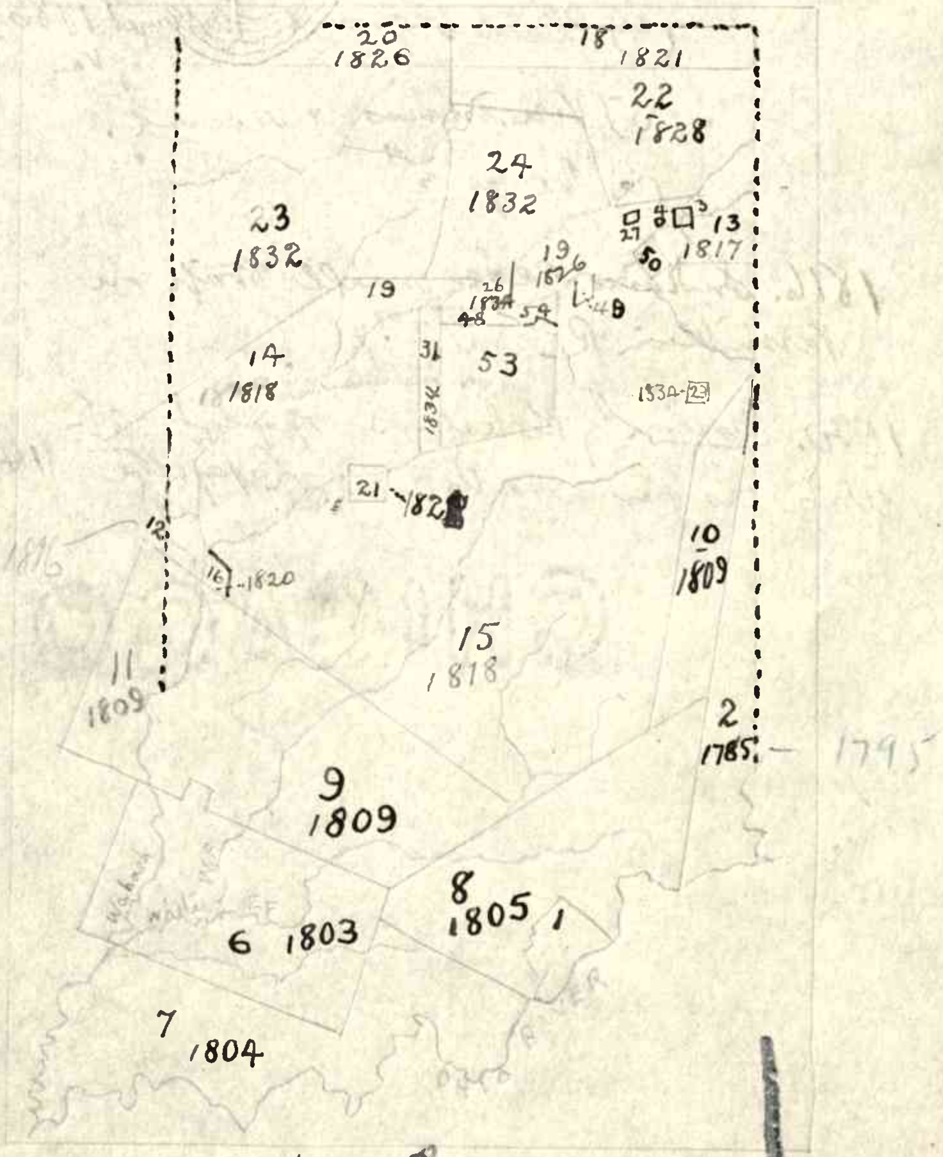

L. Superior
L. Huron
Unorganized Territory
INDIANA
L. Mich.
KNOX COUNTY
L. Erie
Northwest ty.
Mississippi R
Illinois R
St. Clair Co
Randolph Co.
Wabash R
White R
Miami R
Ohio R

Indiana territory in 1800

Knox county embraced all the present state except the "Gore" in the southeast and also included a large part of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois.

3. Treaty of Greenville 1795, 6x6 miles
4 " " " " " 2 1/2 "
5th " " 1795. 6x6 [illegible]

[illegible]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7
1804
Wabash
Ohio

INDIAN Sessions.

over

5
17

Treaty of Greenville 1795 –
– Cessions (1) Ft. Wayne site 6 x 6 miles
(2) Wabash portage 2 x 2 "
(west of Ft. Wayne)
(3) Ouiatonon 6 x 6 miles
(4) Clark's grant [Conveyed 1786 by Va]
(5) Vincennes & vicinity.
(6) "the gore"

1816. Indians cede small strip on
Vermillion R – (12?)
1818 – Tr. of St. Marys =, New Purchase
1820. Cession by Kickapoos opened up
Wab. as far north as Lafayette (16?)

1834 – '38 – '40 – Miami res. ceded.

Tract around Vincennes always claimed by early Indian grant (commons). 1818 town trustees authorized to [illegible] [illegible] sell & proceeds used (1) to drain a pond near the town (2) rest to go to Vinc. Univ.

U.S. Grants to [illegible] —

For univ. & colls. (1816)	46,080 A
Mich. road (1827)	170,582
Wab. & Erie C. —	1,439,279

Illinois internal improvements.

Law of 1837 provided:

1342 miles of RR/, work to begin on all RRs simultaneously at their intersection of navigable waters; contemplated their joint completion at same time, so no section would be favored. Lines (1) parallel to Mississippi from Galena to mouth of Ohio R.; (2) four cross-state lines E. to W., 3 to Indiana state lines connecting with nothing; (3) various short connecting lines till the whole state "Will be scarred and furrowed by railways, resembling the straight cross-barred lines tattooed across the countenance of the New Zeelander." To counties that could not be reached by a canal or railroad, $200,000 was appropriated.

Authorities

W' Whiford - Hist. N.Y. Canals

Cottman Ind. Q. M. Hist v. I
v. II
v. III

Q'
Q''

Q Chambers, S.M. - The Nat'l Road in IQM. 4

(?) ~~The~~

Int'l Impr. Sept of 1836 in Ind Q.M. - v. 3

Amer. Almanac vols 1-31, 1830-1860

Comstock. H.C. - Hist of Canal in Ind. IQM. 7/1

J/ Chaut. v. 38-39 - Arts. on H Clay, Nat'l Road

TH, T.H. City Directory, 1858 - Hist Sketch & map

QJE Q. J. Econ. 17/111

Ep, Esarey Hist of Ind - 1915

Hulbert, A.B. - Historic Highways (1894)

Q Hogue R.M. Life in Ind. 1800-1820 (IQMH) 9/83+

I Laws of Ind - terr - & State

N.A. Rev - v. 51 - J.M. Peck - on Ill. Improvements

also N.A.R. vs. 24, 3[illegible] 47 Life [illegible] Ohio by - ?

Canal

[SLIP]

Deed Record 45. Page 32.

RECORDER'S OFFICE.

The State of Indiana. To all to whom these presents shall concern, send Greeting:

WHEREAS, The General Assembly of the said State, at their session, commenced on the first Monday of December, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and forty-five, did pass a certain act, entitled "An Act to provide for the funded debt of the State of Indiana, and for the completion of the Wabash & Erie Canal to Evansville," which said Act was approved by James Whitcomb, Governor of the said State, on the nineteenth day of January, Eighteen hundred and forty-six, reference being thereunto had will more fully appear. And

WHEREAS, The General Assembly of the said State, at their session commenced on the first Monday of December, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and forty-six, did pass a certain other act entitled "An act supplementary to an 'Act to provide for the funded debt of the State of Indiana, and for the completion of the Wabash & Erie Canal to Evansville, approved January the nineteenth, eighteen hundred and forty-six,'" which said last mentioned act was approved by James Whitcomb, Governor of the said State, on the twenty-seventh day of January, One thousand eight hundred and forty-seven, reference being thereto had will more fully appear. And

WHEREAS, The Bonds of the said State of Indiana, referred to and contemplated in and by the aforesaid Acts of the General Assembly of more than Five Millions, five hundred and forty-five thousand dollars of principal, exclusive of interest, have been surrendered for exchange and cancellation, as contemplated by the said acts, and the holders of not less than Four Millions of Dollars of said Bonds, exclusive of interest, have subscribed twenty per cent. on the said amount prior to the date of these presence, and notice thereof has been given to the Governor of the said State. And

WHEREAS, The subscribers aforesaid towards the completion of the said Canal in the said acts mentioned, have, in pursuance of the said acts, and in accordance with the provisions of the same, elected Charles Butler, of the City of New York, and Thomas H. Blake, two discreet persons, as Trustees, both of whom are citizens of the United States, and one of them, to-wit, Thomas H. Blake, is a citizen and resident of the State of Indiana. And

WHEREAS, Notice of the said election, together with a copy of the said subscription to the said Canal, was given to James Whitcomb, Governor of the said State, on or about the twenty-second day of May last, and the said Governor, in pursuance and by virtue of the said acts, did thereupon, on the Ninth day of June, A. D. eighteen hundred and forty-seven, during the recess of the Legislature of said State, appoint Nathan B. Palmer, a citizen of the State of Indiana, as a third discreet person, to act as Trustee with the said Charles Butler and Thomas H. Blake, and to constitute with them a Board to be known by the style and description of "The Board of Trustees of the Wabash & Erie Canal," which said Board is in and by the said acts made and created a body politic and corporate by the name and style aforesaid. And

WHEREAS, The said three Trustees have, before entering on their duties, each taken the Oath required by the said acts, and have also each of them given Bond with surety, which has been approved by the Governor, in the Penal sum of One Hundred thousand dollars, conditioned as is required by the said acts. And

WHEREAS, The said Governor is satisfied, from proper evidence submitted to him, that Bonds to the amount of more than Five Millions, five hundred and forty-five thousand dollars, exclusive of interest, have been surrendered for exchange and cancellation, and are in the hands of the agent of the State for that purpose, and that five per cent. on certain of the said Bonds, amounting, exclusive of interest, to more than Four Millions of Dollars, has been paid over by the said subscribers to the said Charles Butler and Thomas H. Blake, the two trustees elected by them as hereinbefore mentioned as provided and required in and by the said acts. Now, therefore,

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS, That the State of Indiana, in consideration of the premises and in pursuance of the provisions of the said acts, and in fulfillment of pledge therein given by the said State and in consideration also of one Dollar to the said State in hand, paid by the said "The Board of Trustees of the Wabash & Erie Canal," hath given, granted, bargained, sold, conveyed, confirmed, assigned and transferred, and doth by these presents give, grant, bargain, sell, convey, confirm, assign and transfer unto the said "The Board of Trustees of the Wabash & Erie Canal," their successors and assigns forever, upon the terms and conditions in said acts named, The bed of the Wabash & Erie Canal and its Extensions, by whatever other name the same may be now designated, finished, and to be finished from the Ohio State line to Evansville, including its banks, margins, tow-paths, side cuts, feeders, basins, right of way, locks, dams, water power and structures, and all materials provided or collected for its construction, and all the property right, title and interest of the State in and to the same, and all its appurtenances, and also all the land and lots (not sold or disposed of) heretofore given, granted, or donated by the General Government to the State, to aid in the construction of the said Canal or any part of it, or which may be hereafter acquired under or by reason of any existing grant, and all moneys due and to grow due and remaining unpaid on account of any sale or sales heretofore made of any Canal lands so donated, and all moneys due or to grow due on account of any existing leases of any water power or other privilege on said Canal, its side cuts, feeders, basins or other appurtenances, "To have and hold unto the said 'The Board of Trustees of the Wabash & Erie Canal,' and to their successors and assigns forever, as fully as the said State can or could do, subject nevertheless to all existing rights and equities against the State on account of the same or any part thereof, or liabilities of the State growing out of or in relation thereto. Upon trust, however, to hold and apply the said herein above granted and described premises and the tolls and revenues of the said Canal and the proceeds and produce of the said lands sold and unsold, after first defraying thereout all needful and proper expenditures for repairs, attendance aud other necessary things appertaining thereto, in security and for the uses and purposes particularly declared, expressed, and set forth in the said several acts of the said General Assembly, as by reference to the same will fully and at large appear." And

IT IS HEREBY DECLARED AND PROVIDED, and these presents are executed and delivered by the said State of Indiana and accepted by the said "The Board of Trustees of the Wabash & Erie Canal" with this express intent, and upon the express condition; that is to say, that these presents and the grant, conveyance and assignment herein and hereby made, and everything herein contained, are designed and intended to the end and for the purpose of fulfilling the directions and requirements of the said several acts of the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, and upon the terms and conditions therein set forth, according to the force and effect, true intent and meanings of the said several acts, as the same are now in force, and that all and singular the provisions of the said acts as the same are now in force, touching and concerning the nature, continuance and termination of the trusts herein before declared and set forth, the power, duties, proceedings and liabilities of the said Trustees the termination of the office of the said Trustees and the appointment of New Trustees, the rights, privileges and liabilities of the subscribers in the said acts mentioned, the time to be allowed for the completion of the said Canal, the application of the tolls and revenues thereof and of the proceeds of the Canal lands in the said acts mention, the powers and rights reserved by the said State of Indiana, and all other the provisions of the said several acts as the same are now in force, are to be deemed and taken and are hereby declared to be a part of these presents with the like force and effect as if the same were herein particularly recited and incorporated, according to the true intent and meaning of the said several Provisions.

In Testimony Whereof, The said James Whitcomb, Governor of the State of Indiana, has caused these presents executed in triplicate to be made patent and the great seal of the said State to be hereunto affixed.

INDIANA
STATE
SEAL.

Given under my hand, at Indianapolis, in the said State, this thirty-first day of July, in the year of our Lord, one thousand, eight hundred and forty-seven.

JAS WHITCOMB.

By the Governor, Jno. H. Thompson, Secretary of State.

Received for record January 28th, 1873, at 3 o'clock p.m.

John. B. Meyer, Recorder.

The WABASH and ERIE CANAL

Where frogs their vigil keep

THE CANAL SOCIETY OF INDIANA
302 EAST BERRY STREET
FORT WAYNE, INDIANA 46802

THE WABASH AND ERIE CANAL: WHERE FROGS THEIR VIGIL KEEP

funded by an Indiana Heritage Research Grant
(A joint effort of the Indiana Humanities Council and the Indiana Historical Society)

in conjunction with
The Canal Society of Indiana & **Public Access Channel 10**

May 1994

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* * *

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Roy Justice, Time Traveling Minstrel, *Bethlehem, Pennsylvania*

Production facilities : Public Access Channel 10 and the Allen County Public Library

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Allen County-Fort Wayne Historical Society
Allen County Public Library
Carroll County Wabash and Erie Canal Association
Huntington Public Library
Miami County Historical Society
Wabash County Historical Society
Wabash Public Library

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Staff of Independence Dam State Park, Independence, Ohio
Vera Bradley Designs, Fort Wayne

Wabash and Erie Canal

1832

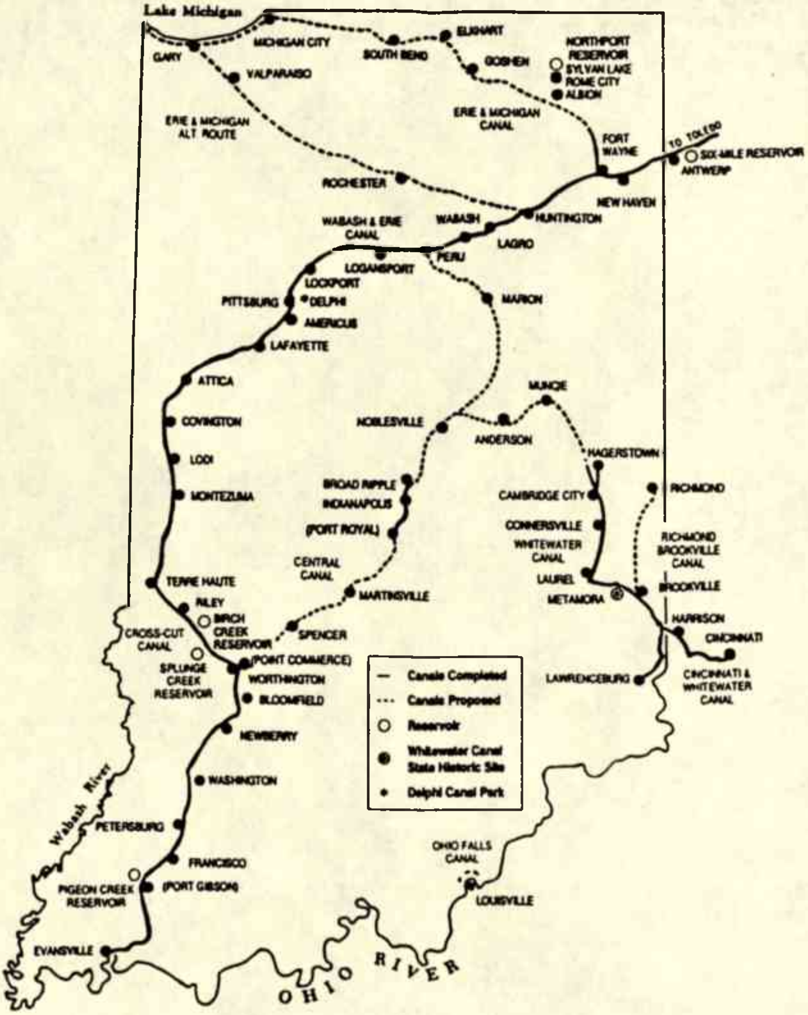
1874

468 MILES

On March 2, 1827, Congress provided a land grant to encourage Indiana to build the Wabash & Erie Canal. The original plan was to link the navigable waters of the Maumee with the Wabash through the seven mile portage at Fort Wayne. Work began five years later on February 22, 1832 in Fort Wayne. Construction proceeded west as the canal reached Huntington by 1835, Logansport in 1838, and Lafayette in 1840. Work was also performed east toward the Ohio line, but the canal did not open to Toledo until 1843. A second federal land grant enabled the canal to reach Terre Haute by 1849.

At Evansville 20 miles of the Central Canal had been completed north by 1839. The W & E was extended south in the late 1840's through the abandoned Cross-Cut Canal works to Worthington and then south following the old proposed Central Canal route. The connection with the Evansville segment was completed in 1853 forming the longest canal in the United States. By 1860, portions south of Terre Haute were closed and the process of decline continued northward. In 1876, the canal was auctioned off by the trustees.

INDIANA'S CANALS


Lake Michigan
GARY
MICHIGAN CITY
SOUTH BEND
ELKHART
GOSHEN
NORTHPORT RESERVOIR
SYLVAN LAKE
ROME CITY
ALBION
VALPARAISO
ERIE & MICHIGAN ALT. ROUTE
ERIE & MICHIGAN CANAL
FORT WAYNE
TO TOLEDO
SIX-MILE RESERVOIR
ANTWERP
NEW HAVEN
ROCHESTER
HUNTINGTON
WABASH
WABASH & ERIE CANAL
LAGRO
PERU
LOGANSPORT
LOCKPORT
PITTSBURG
DELPHI
AMERICUS
MARION
LAFAYETTE
ATTICA
COVINGTON
LODI
MONTEZUMA
MUNCIE
NOBLESVILLE
ANDERSON
HAGERSTOWN
BROAD RIPPLE
INDIANAPOLIS
(PORT ROYAL)
CAMBRIDGE CITY
RICHMOND
CONNERSVILLE
WHITEWATER CANAL
RICHMOND BROOKVILLE CANAL
CENTRAL CANAL
LAUREL
METAMORA
BROOKVILLE
TERRE HAUTE
MARTINSVILLE
RILEY
BIRCH CREEK RESERVOIR
CROSS-CUT CANAL
SPENCER
HARRISON
CINCINNATI
SPLUNGE CREEK RESERVOIR
(POINT COMMERCE)
WORTHINGTON
BLOOMFIELD
LAWRENCEBURG
CINCINNATI & WHITEWATER CANAL
Canals Completed
Canals Proposed
Reservoir
Whitewater Canal State Historic Site
Delphi Canal Park
NEWBERRY
WASHINGTON
Wabash River
PETERSBURG
FRANCISCO
OHIO FALLS CANAL
PIGEON CREEK RESERVOIR
(PORT GIBSON)
LOUISVILLE
EVANSVILLE
OHIO RIVER

CANAL SOCIETY OF INDIANA

VIDEO / BOOKS / MAPS

"FOR YOUR COLLECTION OR FOR FRIENDS"

VIDEOS

$ 30 THE WABASH & ERIE CANAL : WHERE FROGS THEIR VIGIL KEEP

☐
- 54 MINUTES / VHS / *PREMIER EDITION - 1994*
- REMAINS OF THE CANAL FROM TOLEDO - LAFAYETTE

$ 30 INDIANA'S CANAL HERITAGE

☐
- 54 MINUTES / VHS / ORIGINAL CSI PRODUCTION
- COVERS THE HISTORY OF ALL INDIANA CANALS

BOOKS

$ 14 INDIANA CANALS

☐
- PAUL FATOUT 1972 - 216 PAGES / REPRINTED 1994
- MOST COMPREHENSIVE BOOK ON HOOSIER CANALS

$ 6 WHEN HORSES PULLED BOATS

☐
- ALVIN F. HARLOW 1983
- WHY & HOW OF CANALS & LIFE ON THE "RAGING CANAL"

$ 7

☐ THE CANALLER'S SONGBOOK - BOOK OF 30 SONGS - BILL HULLFISH & THE GOLDEN EAGLE STRING BAND

$ 12

☐ CASSETTE TAPE - THE CANALLER'S SONGBOOK - EXCELLENT QUALITY

$ 8 EA. BEST OF AMERICAN CANALS - REPRINTS OF FEATURED ARTICLES

☐
- SPECIFIY VOLUME: VOL I - 1972 - 79 / VOL 2 - 1980 - 83 / VOL 3 - 1983 - 86
- VOL 4 - 1986 - 88 / VOL 5 - 1989 - 91 / VOL 6 - 1991 - 93

MAPS

$ 7 PROFILE MAP - THE WABASH & ERIE CANAL - THOMAS MEEK

☐
- LOCATE : LOCKS / AQUEDUCTS / STONE ARCHES
- DISTANCES, ELEVATIONS & LOCATIONS INDICATED

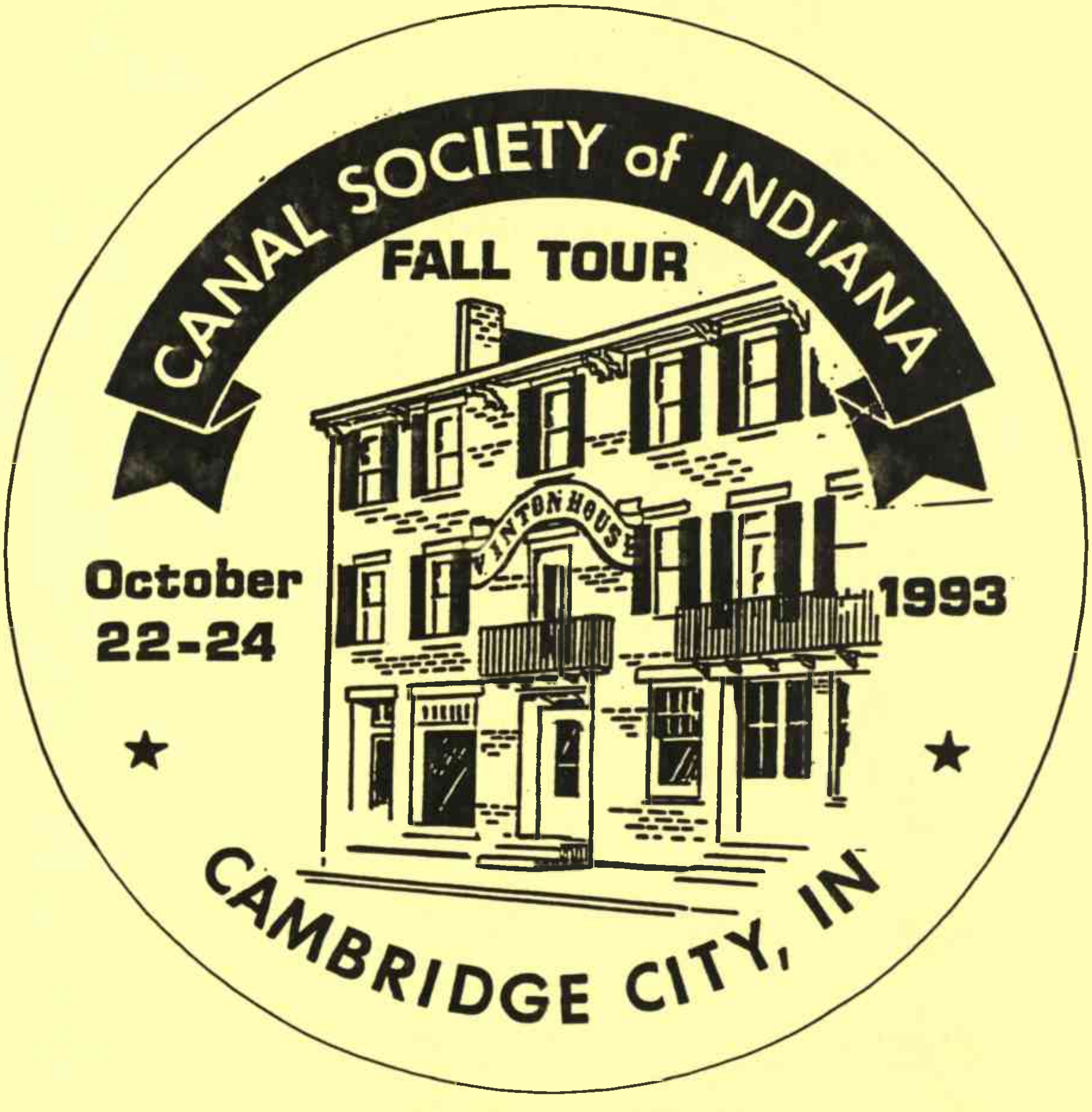
$________ TOTAL ORDER - SEND CHECK TO:

CANAL SOCIETY OF INDIANA 302 E. BERRY ST FORT WAYNE, IN 46802

ALLOW 3 WEEKS FOR MAILING / PRICES INCLUDE SHIPPING & HANDLING COSTS

200

UPPER WHITEWATER & HAGERSTOWN CANALS


CANAL SOCIETY of INDIANA
FALL TOUR
VINTON HOUSE
October 22-24
1993
CAMBRIDGE CITY, IN

CANAL SOCIETY OF INDIANA

1993 Fall Tour. . . October 22-24

in Western Wayne County - East Central IN

UPPER WHITE WATER CANAL opened late 1845 to Cambridge City:

When the route of the White Water Canal was established, Cambridge City was platted in 1836 at its northern terminus, the National Road. The three-story brick Vinton House hotel was built in 1845 to serve travelers on both transportation systems.

HAGERSTOWN CANAL opened late 1847 and operated until about 1861:

Hagerstown was laid out in 1832, and the Hagerstown Canal Company formed soon after. The final northern segment of the waterway above the National Road was financed entirely by private funds and is properly known as the Hagerstown Canal. Because of the landfall, six locks were required on the eight mile section between the two towns.

October 22 Friday evening 6:30-8:30 p.m.	Registration and open house tour of the 1830s Overbeck House at 520 East Church Street, CC. From US 40 turn south at the Overbeck marker at South Pearl, east of the river. Four Overbeck sisters established their art pottery in 1911 and it continued for over 40 years.
October 23 Saturday 7:30-8:30 a.m.	Registration on main floor and continental breakfast in the basement at the First Methodist Church, 238 West Main, CC. Park in church lots or along Main Street. A chair lift descends from the rear south-east entrance ramp, or use front steps.
9-9:30 a.m.	Orientation slides about the Whitewater Canal, the development of western Wayne County and its architecture. Church basement.
9:30-11:30	A four-block walking tour of CC downtown historic district includes canal sites and structure, mural of famous race horse Single G in Post Office, tour of the Overbeck Museum in the public library (restrooms in basement), canal boat bell in History Room, and tour of 1850s canal warehouse, now the clinic of Dr. Bertsch (restrooms on main floor).
11:30-12:45	Salad Smorgasbord by Methodist Church Women in church basement. (Please share rides for the afternoon drive.)
1-2:00 p.m.	Tour of the three-story 1840s Huddleston Farmhouse Inn Museum and barn. U.S. 40 1 mile west. Parking in rear. (Restrooms in barn basement.) Fifteen minute talk about Cambridge City's Civil War General Solomon Meredith and the Iron Brigade by Elbert Watson, publisher. Driving tour of town and Riverside Cemetery to see Meredith Monument, Overbeck and Vinton stones.
2:30-3:00	Short walk on canal tow path at Scout Lake, south edge of Hagerstown. Driving tour of Hagerstown architecture and canal monument.
3-3:45	Guided tour of Historic Hagerstown, Inc. museum on second floor of 1890s IOOF building. Chair lift to second floor. Wall murals, Perfect Circle history, model of canal section, 1940s doctor's office, town quilt. Browsing time in Hagerstown's shops.
4:00-4:30	Seating at Welliver's, Main Street, Hagerstown
4:30-6:30	Two hours of feasting on every delicacy of the fabulous smorgasbord!
6:30-7:00	Stroll off your repast by browsing in the shops.
7:00 p.m.	All reconvene in third floor lodge hall room to hear researcher and feature writer Jane Lacy tell the story of the Hagerstown Canal.
8:00 p.m.	Museum closes. Return to CC Methodist Church for your car. Enjoy a good night's rest after a full day!

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 24 - Optionals to Enjoy on Your Own

Sunday Masses:

Connersville	Cambridge City	Richmond
St. Gabriel's 8:00 and 10:30 a.m.	St. Elizabeth's 7:30 and 10:00 a.m.	8:00 Holy Family 9:30 St.Andrew 11:00 St. Mary

In Fayette County

10 a.m. - noon	Special opening just for CSI. Connersville's White Water Canal House, with the white columns. Just east of Central Avenue on East 4th Street, downtown.
10:30 - noon	Special opening just for CSI. Reynold's Museum 315 Vine Street (on SR 1, south of SR 44).
2:00-5 p.m.	Regular Sunday hours
12 noon	White Water Valley Railroad departs Connersville Station (on SR 121 south of SR 44) for 16 mile ride to Metamora on the White Water Canal and returns at 5:30 p.m. $11.00
1:00-5 p.m.	Metamora's White Water Canal State Historic Site Free Canal boat rides - $2.00

In Wayne County

Centerville: Main Street antique and art shops.
Webb's Antique Mall..mid-west's largest! Open 9-6.

Fountain City: Levi Coffin House on the Underground Railroad open 1-4. $1

Richmond: Art Museum at RHS on Whitewater Boulevard open 1-4. Free
Wayne County Historical Museum, 12th & North A open 1-4. $2.50
Earlham's Joseph Moore Natural History Museum open 1-5. Free

Drive By On Your Own:

Beechwood: The Italianiate Isaac Kinsey Mansion on Sarver Road. From SR 1 south of Milton turn west on Lindsy Road. Listed on National Register.

Interstate Road: From RR crossing on SR 1 between Milton and Connersville, turn east to see the paths of the White Water Canal and the feeder canal from the river. Okay to turn around in Schamber's barn yard. Notice the collection of antique farm equipment across the feeder canal.

Elmhurst: Mansion at south edge of Connersville on SR 121 across from RR depot.

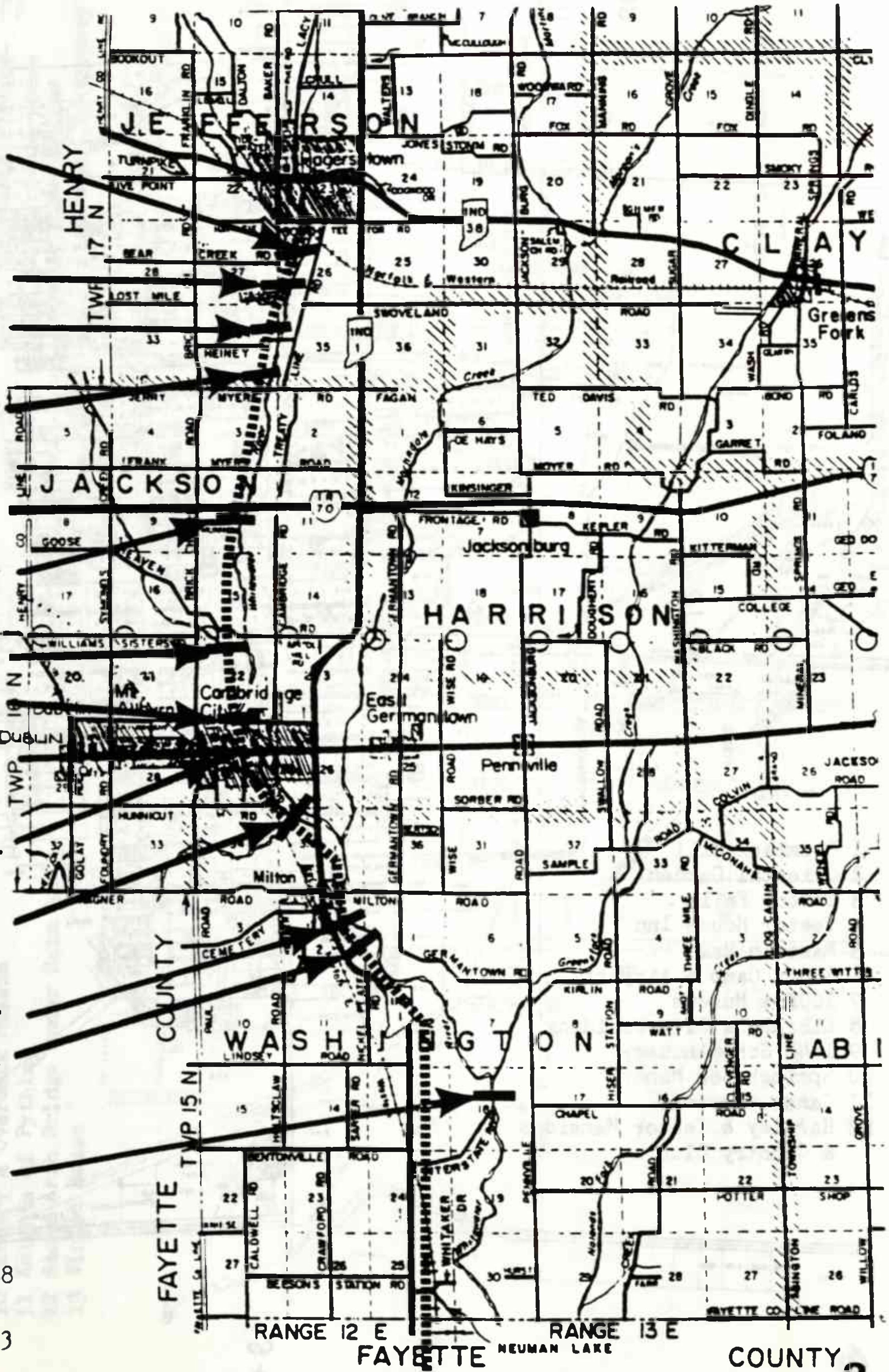
Ford Plant: Near here five methods of transportation can be seen:
1. Airport 2. Railroad 3. State highway 4. White Water River
5. White Water Canal - old structures on west side of SR 1

Try the Sunday Smorgasbord at Conner House in Connersville, Miller's Cafeterias in Connersville and Richmond, Hearthstone Restaurant at Metamora, Jagg's or Jody's in Centerville, Lakeview Restaurant west of Cambridge City.

On Your Way Home:

New Castle: Indiana Basketball Hall of Fame open noon to 5. $3
Noblesville: Conner Prairie, 1836 Village open noon to 5. $8
Muncie: Minnetrista Cultural Center open 1-5. $3
Special exhibits on this area's American Indians.
Indianapolis: Indiana State Museum, 202 N. Alabama, open 12-4:45. Free
Union Station shops and eateries.
Art Museum open 11 a.m. to 5. Free
Much more to see in the Capitol City !

LOCATION IN WAYNE CO. OF THE
WHITEWATER & HAGERSTOWN CANALS


JEFFERSON
Hagerstown
CLAY
Greens Fork
HENRY
TWP 17 N
JACKSON
Jacksonburg
HARRISON
TWP 16 N
Cambridge City
Dublin
East Germantown
Pennville
Milton
WASHINGTON
AB
FAYETTE COUNTY
TWP 15 N
RANGE 12 E
RANGE 13 E
FAYETTE
NEUMAN LAKE
COUNTY

DOERSTLER'S MILL

TWIN LOCKS #1 & #2

AQUEDUCT

MORTON LOCK #3

SWAMP LEVEL LOCK #4

AQUEDUCT

LOCK #5

LOCK #6 AT CONKLIN'S MILL

AQUEDUCT

AQUEDUCT

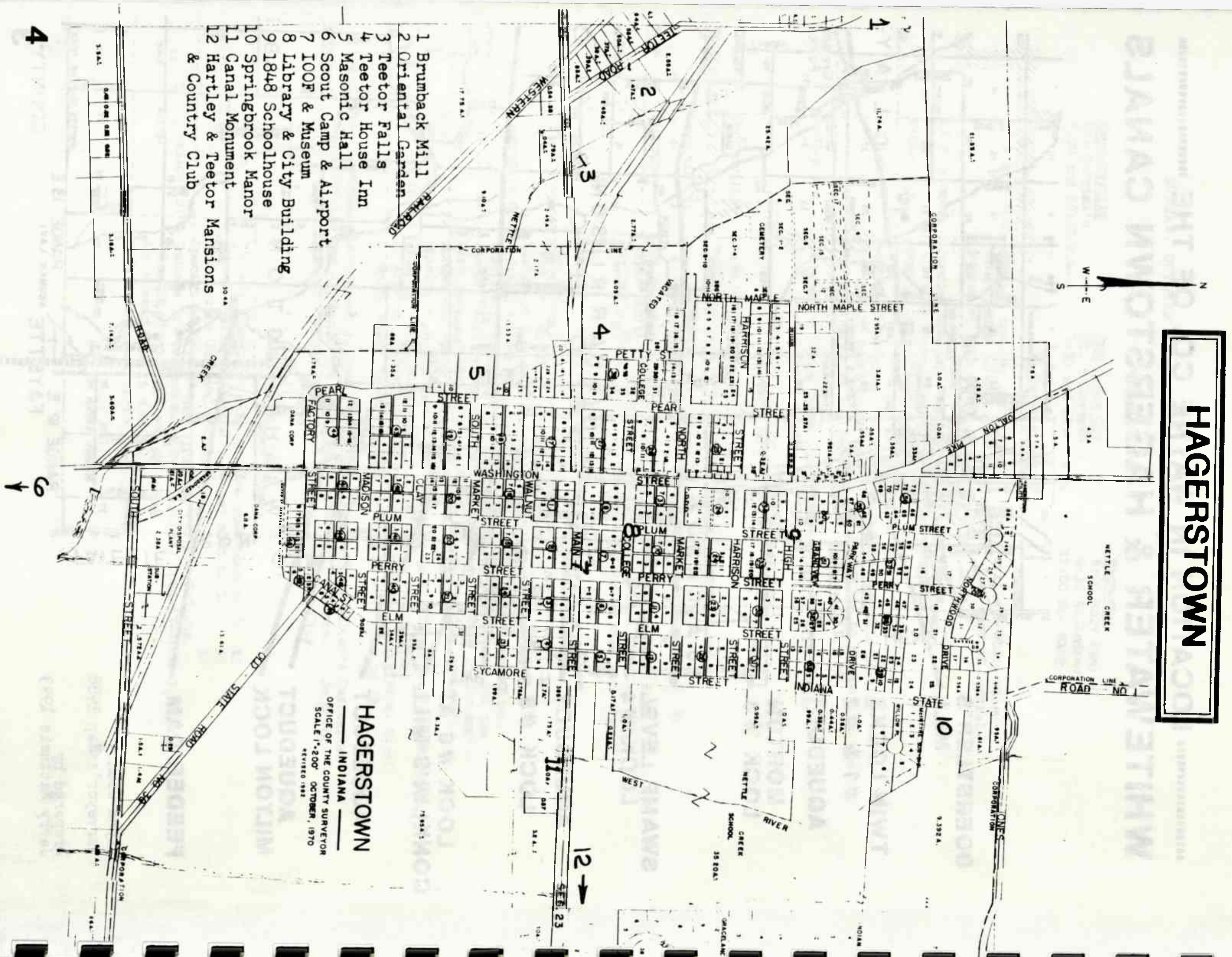
MILTON LOCK

FEEDER DAM

Wayne County
Surveyor's Map 1988

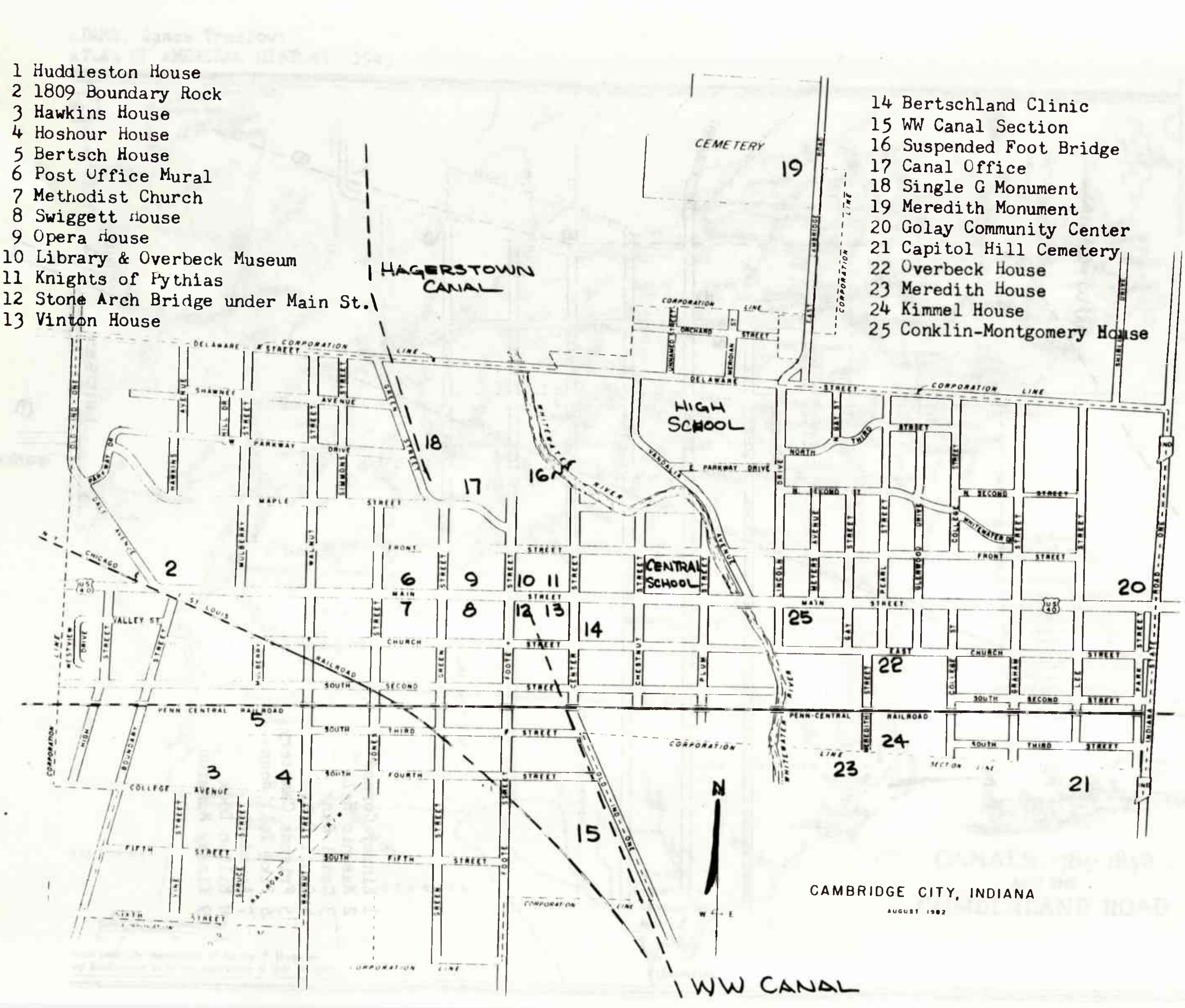
Prepared by
Jerry Mattheis 1993

HAGERSTOWN


HAGERSTOWN
INDIANA
OFFICE OF THE COUNTY SURVEYOR
SCALE 1"=200' OCTOBER, 1970
REVISED 1982
NORTH MAPLE STREET
WASHINGTON
PLUM STREET
PERRY
ELM
SYCAMORE
PEARL
MAIN
WEST RIVER
NETTLE CREEK
OLD STATE ROAD
SOUTH STREET
RAILROAD
CORPORATION LINE
N
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12

1 Brumback Mill
2 Oriental Garden
3 Teetor Falls
4 Teetor House Inn
5 Masonic Hall
6 Scout Camp & Airport
7 IOOF & Museum
8 Library & City Building
9 1848 Schoolhouse
10 Springbrook Manor
11 Canal Monument
12 Hartley & Teetor Mansions
& Country Club

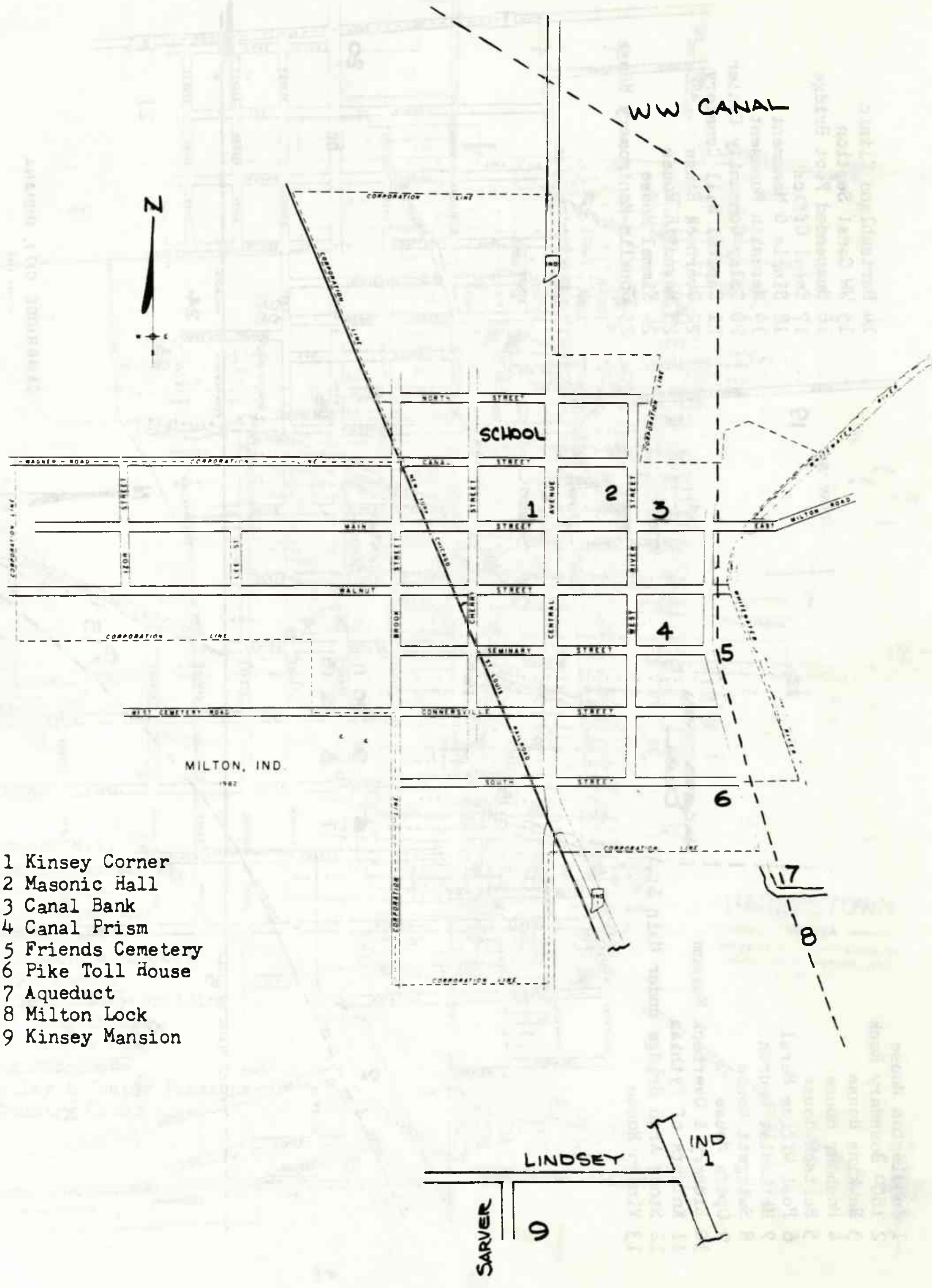
CAMBRIDGE CITY


CAMBRIDGE CITY, INDIANA
AUGUST 1982
HAGERSTOWN CANAL
WW CANAL
CEMETERY
HIGH SCHOOL
CENTRAL SCHOOL
DELAWARE STREET
MAIN STREET
CHURCH
PENN CENTRAL RAILROAD
CORPORATION LINE
N
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

1 Huddleston House
2 1809 Boundary Rock
3 Hawkins House
4 Hoshour House
5 Bertsch House
6 Post Office Mural
7 Methodist Church
8 Swiggett House
9 Opera House
10 Library & Overbeck Museum
11 Knights of Pythias
12 Stone Arch Bridge under Main St.
13 Vinton House

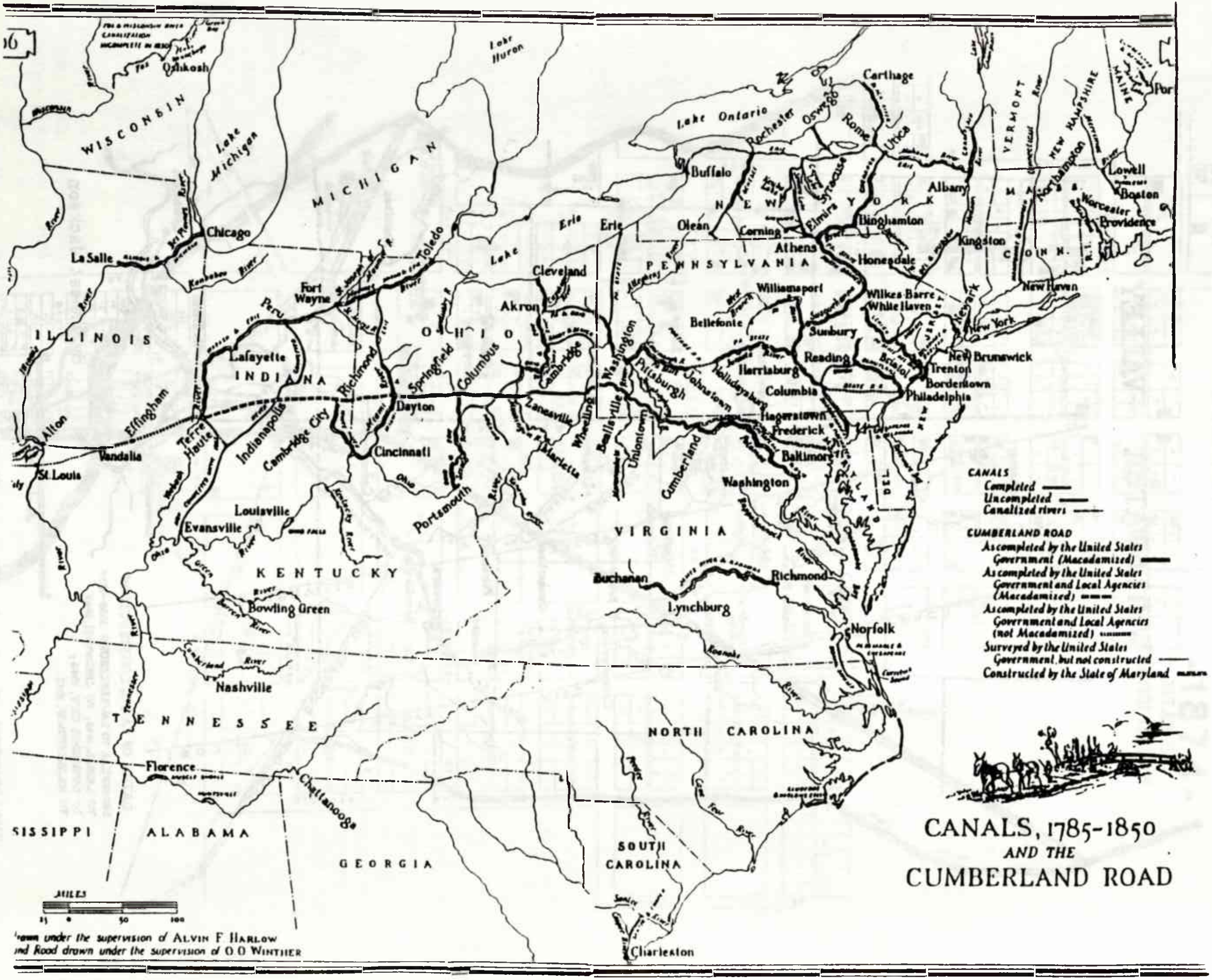
14 Bertschland Clinic
15 WW Canal Section
16 Suspended Foot Bridge
17 Canal Office
18 Single G Monument
19 Meredith Monument
20 Golay Community Center
21 Capitol Hill Cemetery
22 Overbeck House
23 Meredith House
24 Kimmel House
25 Conklin-Montgomery House

MILTON


WW CANAL
N
SCHOOL
NORTH STREET
CANAL STREET
MAIN STREET
WALNUT STREET
SEMINARY STREET
CONNERSVILLE STREET
SOUTH STREET
WAGNER ROAD
WEST CEMETERY ROAD
EAST MILTON ROAD
CENTRAL AVENUE
WEST RIVER STREET
CHERRY STREET
BROOK STREET
LEE ST
NEW YORK CHICAGO ST LOUIS RAILROAD
CORPORATION LINE
WHITEWATER RIVER
IND
MILTON, IND.
1982
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
LINDSEY
SARVER
IND 1

1 Kinsey Corner
2 Masonic Hall
3 Canal Bank
4 Canal Prism
5 Friends Cemetery
6 Pike Toll House
7 Aqueduct
8 Milton Lock
9 Kinsey Mansion

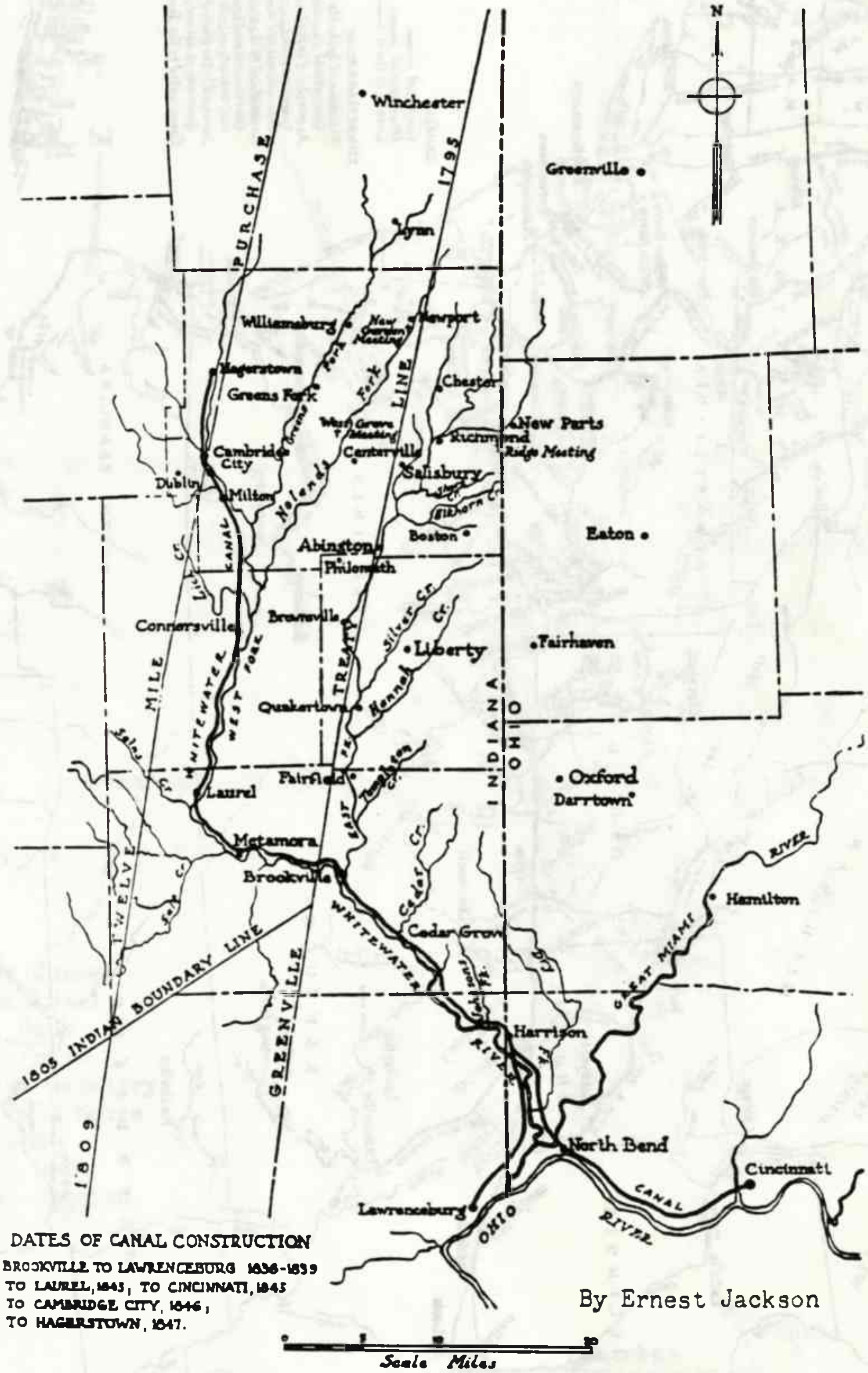
ADAMS, James Truslow:
ATLAS OF AMERICAN HISTORY 1943



CANALS, 1785-1850 AND THE CUMBERLAND ROAD

CANALS
Completed
Uncompleted
Canalized rivers
CUMBERLAND ROAD
As completed by the United States Government (Macadamized)
As completed by the United States Government and Local Agencies (Macadamized)
As completed by the United States Government and Local Agencies (not Macadamized)
Surveyed by the United States Government, but not constructed
Constructed by the State of Maryland
MILES
0
50
100
rawn under the supervision of Alvin F. Harlow
nd Road drawn under the supervision of O. O. Winther
WISCONSIN
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
MICHIGAN
OHIO
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW YORK
VERMONT
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MAINE
MASS.
CONN.
R.I.
NEW JERSEY
DEL.
MARYLAND
VIRGINIA
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
ALABAMA
SISSIPPI
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
Lake Erie
Lake Ontario
Oshkosh
Chicago
La Salle
Alton
St. Louis
Vandalia
Effingham
Terre Haute
Evansville
Lafayette
Peru
Fort Wayne
Indianapolis
Cambridge City
Richmond
Toledo
Dayton
Cincinnati
Springfield
Columbus
Portsmouth
Akron
Cleveland
Zanesville
Cambridge
Marietta
Wheeling
Washington
Bellaire
Uniontown
Cumberland
Louisville
Bowling Green
Nashville
Florence
Chattanooga
Erie
Buffalo
Rochester
Oswego
Rome
Utica
Carthage
Syracuse
Elmira
Corning
Olean
Athens
Binghamton
Albany
Kingston
Honesdale
Wilkes-Barre
White Haven
Williamsport
Bellefonte
Sunbury
Reading
Harrisburg
Hollidaysburg
Johnstown
Pittsburgh
Columbia
Hagerstown
Frederick
Baltimore
Washington
Bristol
Trenton
Bordentown
Philadelphia
New Brunswick
Newark
New York
New Haven
Northampton
Worcester
Providence
Lowell
Boston
Port
Richmond
Lynchburg
Buchanan
Norfolk
Charleston
Ohio
Green River
Barren River
Kentucky River
Cumberland River
Tennessee River
Wabash
Illinois River
Kankakee River
Des Plaines River
Connecticut River
Roanoke
Cape Fear River
Santee
Pee Dee River

WHITEWATER VALLEY


N
Winchester
Greenville
Lynn
PURCHASE
1795
Williamsburg
New Garden Meeting
Newport
Hagerstown
Greens Fork
Greens Fork
Fork
LINE
Chester
West Grove Meeting
Centerville
Richmond
New Paris
Ridge Meeting
Cambridge City
Dublin
Milton
Nolands Fork
Salisbury
Elkhorn Cr.
Boston
Eaton
Abington
Philomath
KANAL
Lick Cr.
Connersville
Brownsville
TREATY
Silver Cr.
Hanna's Cr.
Liberty
Fairhaven
MILE
WHITEWATER
WEST FORK
Quakertown
INDIANA
OHIO
Salt Cr.
Laurel
Fairfield
EAST FK.
Templeton Cr.
Oxford
Darrtown
Metamora
Brookville
TWELVE
Salt Cr.
Cedar Cr.
WHITEWATER
Cedar Grove
Lee Cr.
RIVER
GREAT MIAMI
Hamilton
1805 INDIAN BOUNDARY LINE
GREENVILLE
Dry Fk.
Harrison
RIVER
Fk.
1809
North Bend
Cincinnati
CANAL
Lawrenceburg
OHIO
RIVER
0
5
10
20
Scale Miles

DATES OF CANAL CONSTRUCTION
BROOKVILLE TO LAWRENCEBURG 1836-1839
TO LAUREL, 1843; TO CINCINNATI, 1843
TO CAMBRIDGE CITY, 1846;
TO HAGERSTOWN, 1847.

By Ernest Jackson

KNOLLENBERG, Bernhard: Pioneer Sketches of the Upper Whitewater Valley 1945

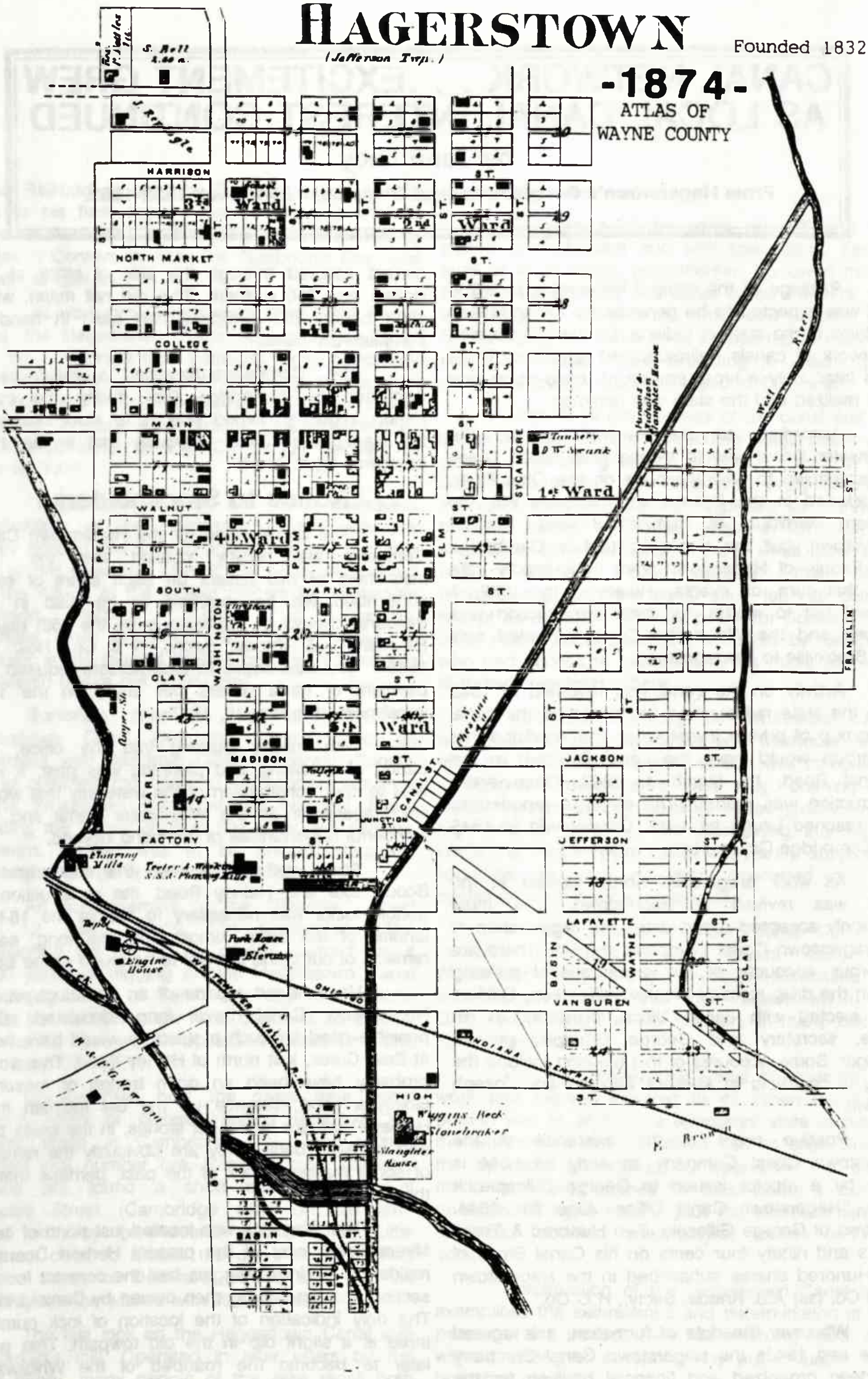
HAGERSTOWN

(Jefferson Twp.)

Founded 1832

-1874-

ATLAS OF
WAYNE COUNTY


S. Bell
HARRISON
NORTH MARKET
COLLEGE
MAIN
WALNUT
SOUTH
CLAY
MADISON
FACTORY
HIGH
BASIN
PEARL
WASHINGTON
PLUM
PERRY
MARKET
ELM
SYCAMORE
CANAL ST.
JUNCTION
JACKSON
JEFFERSON
LAFAYETTE
VAN BUREN
WAYNE
FRANKLIN
ST.
3rd Ward
2nd Ward
1st Ward
4th Ward
Ward
Tannery
D.T. Swank
West River
Flouring Mills
Teeter & Hoover S.S.& Planing Mills
Park Tower & Elevator
Depot
Engine House
Wiggins Beck & Stonebraker
Slaughter House
Indiana Central
Whitewater Valley R.R.

CANAL NETWORK . . .EXCITEMENT GREW AS LOCAL CANAL INTEREST CONTINUED

by Jane Lacy

From Hagerstown's Sesquicentennial Commemorative Book 1832-1982.

Passage of the Internal Improvements Bill in 1836 was expected to be panacea for transportation problems of the state of Indiana, for the bill provided a network of canals, railroads and turnpikes. Three years later, only a small portion of those plans had been realized and the state was bankrupt.

According to the original survey, the Whitewater Canal was to extend from Nettle Creek at Hagerstown to Lawrenceburg on the Ohio River. As included in the Internal Improvements Bill, the northern terminus of that canal was, not at Hagerstown, but the National Road in Cambridge City. People of Hagerstown were undoubtedly irate over that turn of events. However, by 1839, it seemed not to matter, for state construction was stopped and the Whitewater Canal extended only from Brookville to Lawrenceburg.

Activity on the canal was resumed in 1842 when the state relinquished its interest in the canal to a group of private investors on the condition that the group would have the canal finished, to the National Road, by March 1, 1847. Once again construction was started. The canal is reported to have reached Laurel by 1843, Connersville in 1845 and Cambridge City in 1846.

As work progressed north, interest in the canal was revived in Hagerstown. The most commonly accepted report dates the organization of the Hagerstown Canal Company in 1846. There are numerous accounts of the organizational meeting held in the drug store of Wesley Williamson. Officers were elected with Jacob Ulrich, president; A. B. Knode, secretary and George Gillespie, general manager. Some accounts of this meeting include the letting of contracts to Andress Wiggins and Joseph Madden.

Positive proof of the existence of the Hagerstown Canal Company as early as 1844 is made by a receipt issued to George Gillespie. It reads: "Hagerstown Canal Office, June 7th, 1844. Received of George Gillespie, Two Hundred & Three Dollars and ninety four cents on his Canal Stock of One Hundred shares subscribed in the Hagerstown Canal Co. (ss) A.B. Knode, Secty., H C Co."

Whatever the date of formation, it is agreed by the mid 1840s the Hagerstown Canal Company had been organized and financial backing for the project assured through the sale of stock at five dollars and $50 a share. This did not mean, when work began, the company had cash in hand to complete the canal.

The "Cambridge Reveille," a weekly paper published in Cambridge City during the canal period, regularly carried notices to stockholders of the Hagerstown Canal Company that explain how payments were made.

Notice to Stockholders.

"The Stockholders of the Hagerstown Canal Company are hereby notified that the 14th installment of two dollars on each share of stock subscribed will be required to be paid in the treasures thereof in Hagerstown on the 15th day of February. A.B. Knode, Secty., H C Co., Nov. 1st, 1846." The next notice to stockholders required the payment of three dollars per share on the 15th installment, due May 15, 1847.

With money coming into the office, the period of dreaming and planning was past. It was time to start construction of the waterway that would link Hagerstown to the Whitewater Canal and the wonderful opportunities of the world beyond.

About midway between the south end of Scout Lake and Heiney Road, the construction of double locks was necessary to handle the 18-foot landfall of the area. Almost 100 feet long, each, remains of cut stone are still to be found at the site.

Unconfirmed reports of an aqueduct on the Hagerstown Canal have long circulated. One possible need for such a structure would have been at Bear Creek, just north of Heiney Road. This would probably have been an open trough of masonry. Going a short distance up the old towpath from Heiney Road are found cut stones, in the creek bed and on each bank. They are obviously the remains of some masonry work of the past, perhaps that of the old aqueduct.

The third lock was located just north of Jerry Myers Road, east of the present Herbert Doerstler residence. Andress Wiggins had the contract for this section, the land being then owned by Daniel Ulrich. The only indication of the location of lock number three is a slight dip in the old towpath. That part, later to become the roadbed of the Whitewater Valley Railroad, is used by Doerstler as an access land to his farm fields. Some one and one-half miles south of Jerry Myers Road on land owned by Benjamin Conklin, in 1841, of Cambridge City, was the site of lock four.

As work progressed south from Frank Myers Road, the Hagerstown Canal Company was faced with an unpleasant fact. Finances were completely depleted. Construction costs had been greater than expected and it was becoming difficult to collect payments on stock subscriptions. This is verified by a notice published in the "Cambridge Reveille" of June 16, 1847.

"Hagerstown Canal Co. The delinquent stockholders of the Hagerstown Canal Co. are hereby notified that if such arrears are not promptly paid to the treasures thereof the same will be put into the hands of the proper officers for immediate collection without respect to persons. Purchase and provisions will be received in payment at the highest market price in Hagerstown if delivered before suit is brought."

Sometime prior to June of 1847, the Hagerstown Canal Company entered into an agreement with Benjamin Conklin whereby Conklin was to complete the canal to the northern terminus of the Whitewater Canal at the National Road, including the construction of two locks, five and six. In return, Conklin was to be granted perpetual water-rights for the operation of his mills.

An advertisement in the "Reveille," dated June 12, 1847, reads, "To Contractors. The undersigned will let out by private contract about 20,000 yards of digging on the Hagerstown Canal immediately north of Cambridge City to be done against the 1st November next. Cash will be paid in fair price for such work. Application should be made soon. Benj. Conklin."

Conklin then built the canal from some distance north of Goose Heaven Road to the National Road in Cambridge City. This section included lock number five. Easily located, masonry remains are found a short distance north of Delaware Street (Cambridge City) on the farm owned today by the Frederick Becker family. Little has been done to disturb the old bed for a short distance north of Delaware Street, and the old waterway can be walked with little difficulty.

The last lock on the Hagerstown Canal was at Conklin's mill. Operated in later years by the Creitz family, many people of the area recall both the mill and lock.

Completion of the canal brought with it a period of excitement and wild speculation. Feeling sure of its success, businessmen borrowed money to build warehouses and canal boats. Farmers, too, were eager to share in the anticipated benefits. One farmer along the canal route is reported to have put out 1,000 peach trees, expecting to realize great profit from peach brandy shipped to Cincinnati.

Reports of the success of the canal and the actual number of boats reaching Hagerstown vary greatly. According to one account, "Three or four boats were loaded and unloaded every day, and the town (Hagerstown) was regarded as a thriving business center." Another, written in 1872, depicts an entirely different picture, "But a small number of boats, however, ever reached that place (Hagerstown); and the canal soon fell into disuse, except as a source of water power for Conklin's and other mills." Such diversified accounts by historians who had access to primary sources make the work of today's research difficult.

From the beginning, the Whitewater Canal was plagued by costly floods and washouts. Soon after the Brookville to Laurel section was completed, a saturated embankment gave way, draining the canal of water. Spring floodings added greatly to the high cost of repairing and maintaining that canal. While the Hagerstown Canal was rarely subject to floodings, its very existence depended on the continuation of the lower waterway.

In 1862, the Whitewater Canal Company declared bankruptcy. Three years later, the Whitewater Valley Railroad Company purchased the entire length of the canal, from Hagerstown to the Ohio River, using the old towpath, in many places, for its roadbed.

Had the Hagerstown Canal been worth the work and monies invested in it? When the lower portion was in, at best, a temporary state of repair, the waterway was the desired way to ship. During the sporadic periods of its operation, the canal made and saved money for those using it, but its on-again, off-again history, plus the encroachment of railroads, doomed the project before it was completed.

Construction of the Hagerstown Canal best exemplifies the self-reliance and determination of the people of the period. They felt a strong need, and without asking or accepting any public funds, they built their canal.

HAGERSTOWN - AN AFFLUENT COMMUNITY

By Phyllis Mattheis

Early settlers from Kentucky, New Jersey and Tennessee moved into the Hagerstown area beginning in 1814. The first store opened in a hewed log house in 1820. Many more families arrived in the 1820s, some from Pennsylvania, Maryland and the east. The town, named after Hagerstown, MD when laid out in 1832, began to grow and prosper with businesses, churches and a school. A first small brick school building, erected in 1848, still stands as a residence at 399 North Plum Street.

The year 1847 brought the completion of the canal to Hagerstown and much prosperity. Woolen and flour mills, a shingle factory, a barrel factory, carriage shops, a foundry, slaughter houses and many more businesses and mills were built.

A weekly newspaper "The Friendly Visitor" was begun in 1873. The present day "Hagerstown Exponent" began publishing in 1875, making it the longest established business in town.

Soon there was a fire department, a gas company, a telephone company, a municipally owned generating plant for electricity (1908) and a water works (1927). The first post office was established in 1829 and became second class in 1924. Due to increasing volume of the Perfect Circle Company, the post office became first class in 1932.

The piston ring company got its start in 1892 when C.N. Teetor invented and produced a railroad bicycle used to inspect rails. In 1902 the name became Light Inspection Car Company. One of these cars is on display in the Hagerstown Museum.

After developing a motor, the company developed the individual cast method of manufacturing piston rings. Every large piston ring manufacturer adopted this method. Perfect Circle (so named in 1926) became one of the two largest piston ring manufacturers in the world, selling to over 80% of car and truck manufacturers.

In 1932 five hundred people were employed in Hagerstown, with an additional 375 at other plants. Perfect Circle's prosperity contributed to the affluent appearance the town still presents, even though very little auto parts manufacturing is present today. Dana Corporation bought out Perfect Circle in 1963, and the manufacturing jobs have gradually been moved out.

The municipally owned airport is just down the street from Dana at the foot of S. Washington. It has a 4000 foot grass runway which is lighted and a 24 hour radio communication system.

Perfect Circle constructed a new plant addition in the area where the canal's Water Street basin was located at the south end of Perry Street. A block long angled street named Canal Street paralleled the canal. Along S. Perry Street are the town's earlier structures.

The Teetor and Hartley families had mansions constructed with their wealth. They also built a fine brick library building on the northwest corner of Plum and College, developed a country club and donated former canal property to the Boy Scouts of America to become an A+ camp with a ten acre lake. Camp Wapi Kamigi (Indian name for white water) has been a Girl Scout camp since the 1950s. The canal was located on the 200 acres of land now owned by the Girl Scouts that extends south to Heiney Road. The office of the Treaty Line Council of Boy Scouts is located in the former Christian Science Church building on South Plum Street.

In 1946, one hundred years after the construction of the canal, the Hagerstown Business Men's Club (now the Rotary Club) erected a stone monument at the southwest corner of the Main Street bridge. The canal was fed from West River about two blocks north of the bridge. Due to flood problems West River on the east side of town has been rerouted over the years.

Only small employers provide jobs today: Tedco produces scientific and educational toys making Hagerstown the gyroscope capital of the world, Welliver's Smorgasbord serves hundreds of folks from near and far, Exponent Publishers, Inc. is a large color printing plant, and famous Abbott's Candy is still produced from their 1910 recipes.

WHEELS OF PLENTY . . . THOSE NOSTALGIC OLD MILLS OF YESTERYEAR

From Hagerstown's Sesquicentennial Commemorative Book

1832-1982

In the early decades of the 1800's, each village was self dependent for the necessities of life. Contributing greatly to the independence of a community was the mill owner, for his business was the connecting link between the farmer and consumer. Whether he was operating a saw mill, grist mill or carding machine, the miller was a man of means. It did not always follow that he had cash in hand, however, for payment was usually made by barter, with the mill owner keeping a portion of whatever was being processed.

The location of a mill site was determined by a nearby stream where the landfall was great enough to assure an adequate supply of water power. The area around Hagerstown had four such streams - Nettle Creek, White Branch, West River and Martindale Creek. Thus mills, with their huge wheels turned by the current of the stream, dotted the landscape of the area for many years.

On the walls of The Mill Terrace at Welliver's Smorgasbord are four drawings by Centerville artist, Paul Hamilton of area mills as they appeared while in operation many years ago. The Ulrich Mill, operating a carding machine as early as 1827, was probably built by Jacob Ulrich, one of the founders of Hagerstown. The Protection Mill, built around 1858 by Abraham Teeter and his son, Daniel, was a grist mill. A later generation of that family founded Perfect Circle Piston Ring Company, now a division of Dana Corporation. The White Branch Woolen Mills were located on the site of a grist mill constructed by Daniel Ulrich. During the Civil War, when the operation was owned by the Test Brothers of Richmond, the mill supplied material for the Union Army.

In 1839, William Brumback built his grist mill where a saw mill had previously stood. The Brumback building is the only one still standing in the Hagerstown area. Covered with metal siding, except on the east facade, where the mill wheel was located, it bears little likeness to the original structure. It is located just north of Indiana 38 on Tidewater Road west of town.

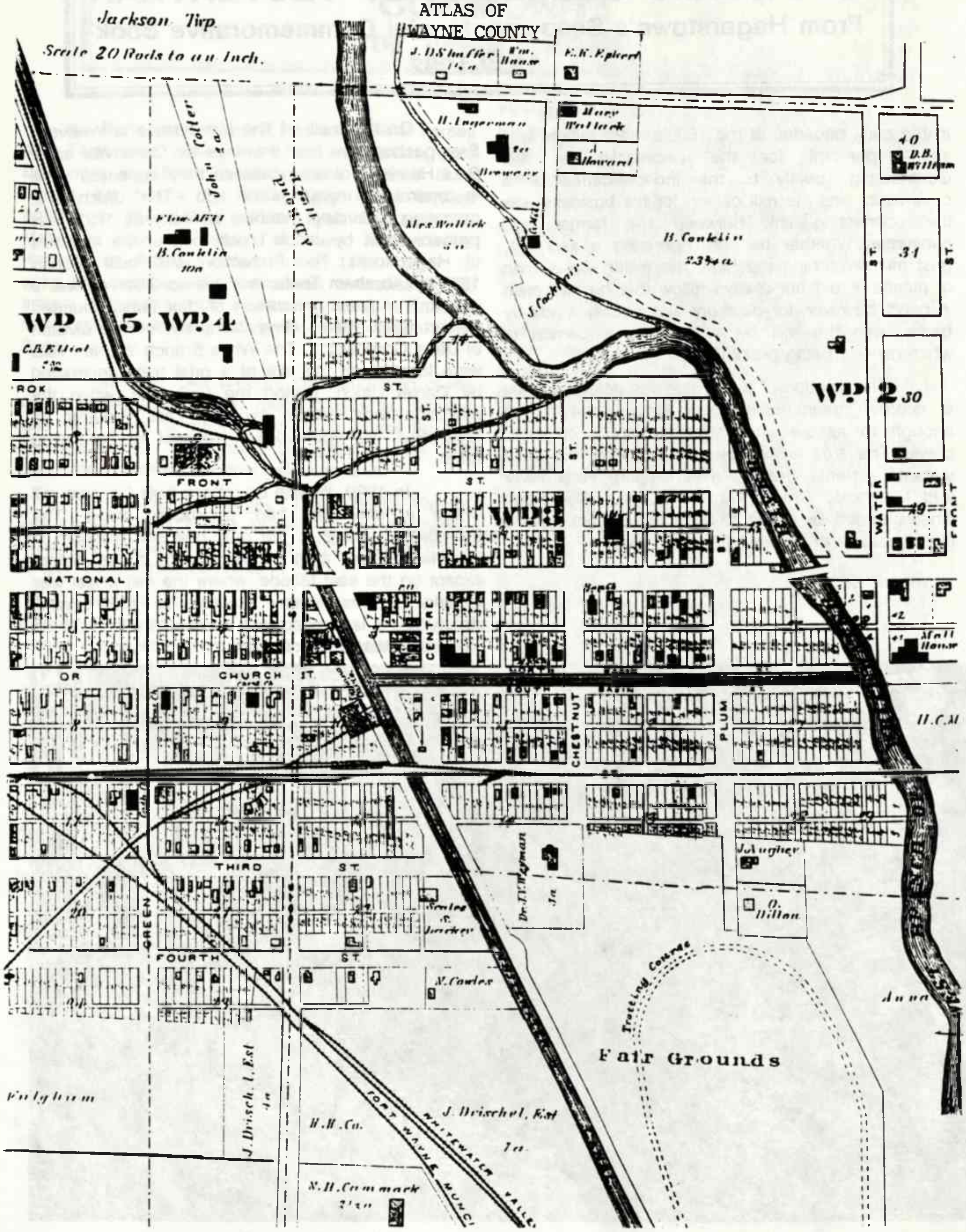
The bed of Hagerstown Canal is easily followed from north of Lock 5 south to Delaware Street in Cambridge City.

CAMBRIDGE CITY

Founded 1836

-1874-

ATLAS OF
WAYNE COUNTY


Jackson Twp.
Scale 20 Rods to an Inch.
J. DS Imffer
Wm. Hause
E. K. Eplecri
H. Ingerman
Mary Wallack
Brewery
A. Howard
D. B. William
Mrs Wallick
B. Conklin
J. Cockburn
Flour Mill
WP 5
WP 4
WP 3
WP 2
C. B. Elliot
FRONT
NATIONAL
CHURCH ST.
THIRD ST.
FOURTH ST.
CENTRE
CHESTNUT
PLUM
WATER ST.
FRONT
Mill House
H. C. M.
Dr. J. T. Wayman
J. Augher
O. Dillon
Sooter & Jackson
N. Cowles
Trotting Course
Fair Grounds
J. Drischel, Est
FORT WAYNE MUNCIE & WHITEWATER VALLEY
R. R. Co.
N. H. Cammack
J. Drischel Est

CAMBRIDGE CITY - ON THE NATIONAL ROAD & THE WHITEWATER CANAL

By Phyllis Mattheis

Settlers of English and German descent from Virginia, the Carolinas and Pennsylvania began moving into western Wayne County after the Twelve-Mile Purchase from the American Indians in 1809. A large stone with a brass plaque marks this line at West Main and Boundary Streets, near the railroad.

When Wayne County was being organized in 1810, the early settlers were dependent on spring rains to float their surplus products on flatboats to markets at Brookville, Lawrenceburg and Cincinnati. Livestock could be driven on foot and produce hauled in wagons, but this was a long and tedious round trip of up to 14 days, given the condition of early roads through dense forests.

A system of canals was thought to be the solution for transportation difficulties. The Internal Improvement Bill signed by Governor Noah Noble on January 27, 1836, provided for a Whitewater Canal from the new National Road to Lawrenceburg on the Ohio River. The plat for Cambridge City was recorded in October of that same year. Cambridge City is uniquely situated at the crossroads of early transportation, for no other town in eastern Indiana was built on both a canal and the National Road.

As early as 1824 a settlement called Vandalia grew up along the old state road from Centerville to Indianapolis where it crossed the west fork of the Whitewater River. Our present Delaware Street is a remnant of that old state road, and the settlement was located near Vandalia Avenue.

When the National Road was surveyed through Wayne County beginning in June 1827, businesses began moving one-quarter mile south to that area, and East Cambridge developed east of the river about 1830. So the new town of Cambridge City in 1836 would encompass both of these earlier places, as well as the head of the new canal.

After about half of the 76-mile canal had been completed from Lawrenceburg to Brookville, construction was halted in 1839 when Indiana became bankrupt. The legislature was persuaded to grant a charter to the Whitewater Canal Company to finish "within five years" the project that the state had started.

A huge celebration attended by several thousand people followed the goundbreaking here on July 28, 1842. The first boat finally arrived with much fanfare in the fall of 1845. Construction of the canal had brought skilled labor, immigrants and much prosperity to the western Wayne County area.

With this new transportation available, twenty boats were needed to ship the grain, hay, pork, lard and other goods that farmers hauled from near and far. According to newspaper accounts an incredible amount of produce and manufactured items left the Cambridge City docks for Cincinnati. Transportation time was shortened to as little as three days. Water-powered manufacturing increased the general prosperity and made jobs for many in this area. Saw mills, flour mills, woolen and cotton mills produced goods for shipment. During the winter months, the canal provided ice for the ice houses and a place to skate.

The Vinton House Hotel, built in 1847 on the National Road, was an official stagecoach stop for Americans moving westward, as well as hosting folks from the canal packet boats. It's written that Vinton's daughters sat on the hotel's back steps, watching for the arrival of the canal boats three times a week from Cincinnati to deliver guests to the side door. Then the boats would make a turn in the basin west of the hotel for the return to Cincinnati. Take a walk today down the alley beside the angled west wall of the Vinton House and just imagine the canal boats making their turns where the parking lot is located.

An old canal boat bell was used to call hotel guests for meals. This bell is on display in the history room of our public library, which was built in 1936 on canal right-of-way. Paul Fatout's book **Indiana Canals** is available in our library and also locally-written papers about the Whitewater Canal.

The canal crossed under the National Road between South Center and Foote Streets. The hand-drawn 1836 plat map, framed in the library, shows a through canal from the north edge of town and under the National Road. The top of the stone arch bridge is still visible under Main Street from the alley south of Main. Also drawn on the plat map is a one-half block long north-south Hawkins Basin at North Front Street, and a two-block long east-west basin extending west from it to Jones Street. Green Street follows the path of the canal north from the fire station to Delaware, where the tree line indicates the location of the Hagerstown Canal northward.

Many warehouses were built to handle all the merchandise that was shipped. In the center of broad East Church Street was a three-block long canal basin reaching to the river. It is thought that the two and one-half story brick building at One East Church Street, preserved by Dr. James Bertsch and converted into his offices, was one of those warehouses.

The remnant of a canal boat was discovered under Church Street during some street work. It is now preserved in the Wayne County museum in Richmond.

Along the west side of South Center Street a 150-foot section of the canal has been preserved, which shows the four foot depth, 30 foot width at the base and 40 foot width at the water level of the canal. A metal marker was placed beside this canal section in 1988 by Western Wayne Heritage, Inc.

The Whitewater Canal never had a full year of business. Floods in the 1840's and 50's caused so much damage to the canal banks, dams and locks that the Whitewater Canal Company could not recoup its losses.

In the meantime railroads were being constructed across the United States. The first steam engine train through Wayne County arrived in 1863 from Indianapolis, and soon a track was built on the towpath of the abandoned canal. In all, four railroads were routed through here, creating a nation-wide network for shipping.

Just after the turn of the century the interurban electric railway, chiefly for passengers, transported people to Richmond and Indianapolis for more than 25 years. Tracks were discovered under the blacktop of the Main Street bridge during some recent renovation.

The town's significance as a stop for travelers continued well into the 20th century as auto and truck traffic increased on U.S. 40. All the methods of transportation through our town - the river, the roads, the creek, the canal and the railroads - required eighteen bridges. In addition there is a suspended foot bridge over the river in Creitz Park.

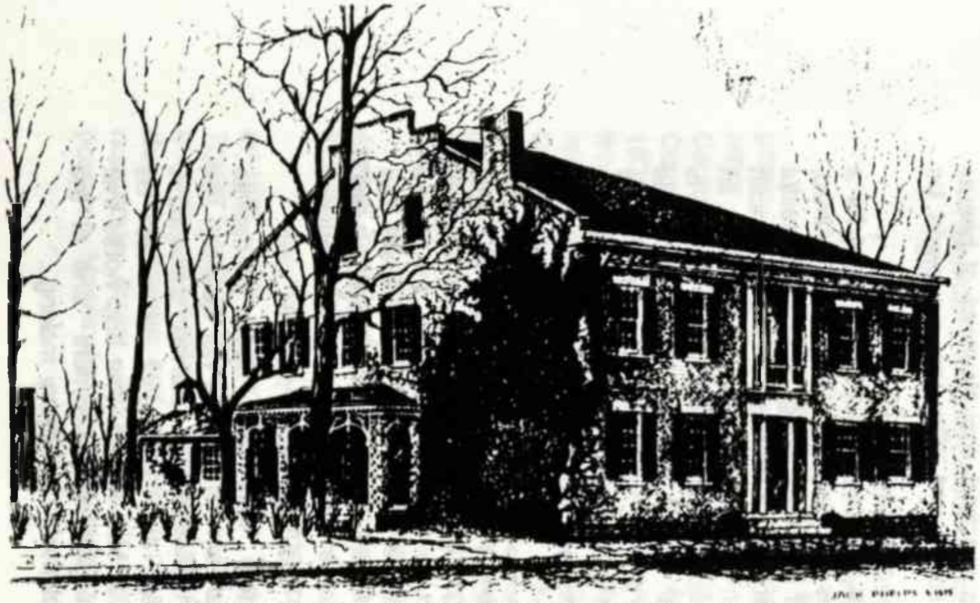
A wooden covered bridge may have been the first to span the river. It is featured in an oil painting by Margaret Overbeck on the cover of the 1836 centennial booklet. The 1836 plat map also shows the two-lane wooden bridge over Whitewater River. The present concrete bridge was built in 1936 and carries a plaque on the northeast corner.

Even though the canal's usefulness for transportation to western Wayne County was less than twenty years, it provided an artery of commerce for mail, passenger and freight service when none other existed. For an even longer period of time the canal's water provided power for the many mills along its banks until the industrial age. For nearly a century, until 1951, canal water from the Interstate Road feeder dam in southern Washington Township powered the seven hydroelectric stations in Fayette County. The hydros produced 900 amps maximum per unit at full power. When Connersville rebuilt their water lines and sewer system in the 1950s, utility lines were laid in the canal bed.

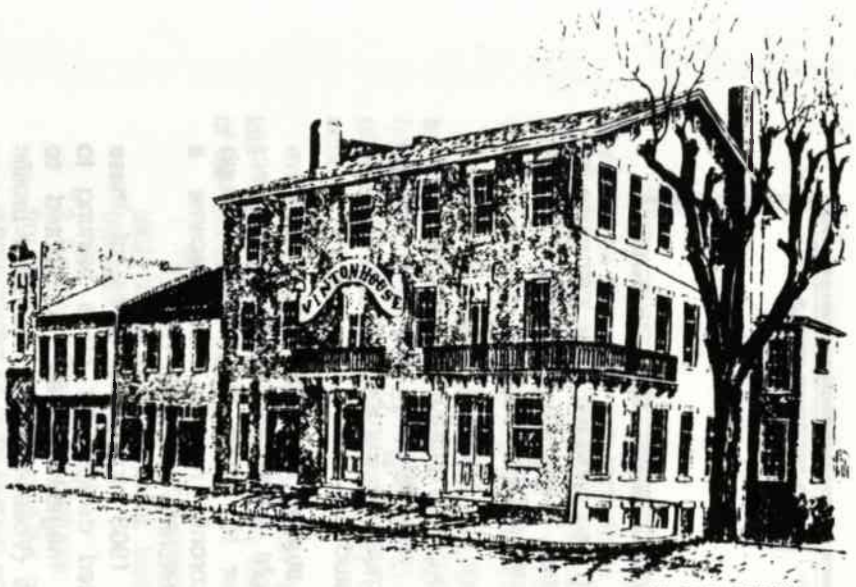
In Cambridge City industry and commerce supported a growing business district. Along our Main Street are buildings from every period of the town's development, making a virtual history of Indiana architecture dating from 1835-1940. The large brick Conklin-Montgomery House on the southeast corner of East Main and Lincoln is Greek Revival. The tallest four-story brick building on the north side of Main Street is Romanesque Revival. Next to it, the library is Neo-classical. In the middle of the next block is the three story Italianate opera house,and near the west end of the business district is the post office, a Colonial Revival building.

On the south side of Main Street a Chicago style building sits on the southeast corner at Green Street, and just east, the charming yellow brick dwelling is Federal style. The bank building on the southwest corner at Foote Street has Queen Anne details.

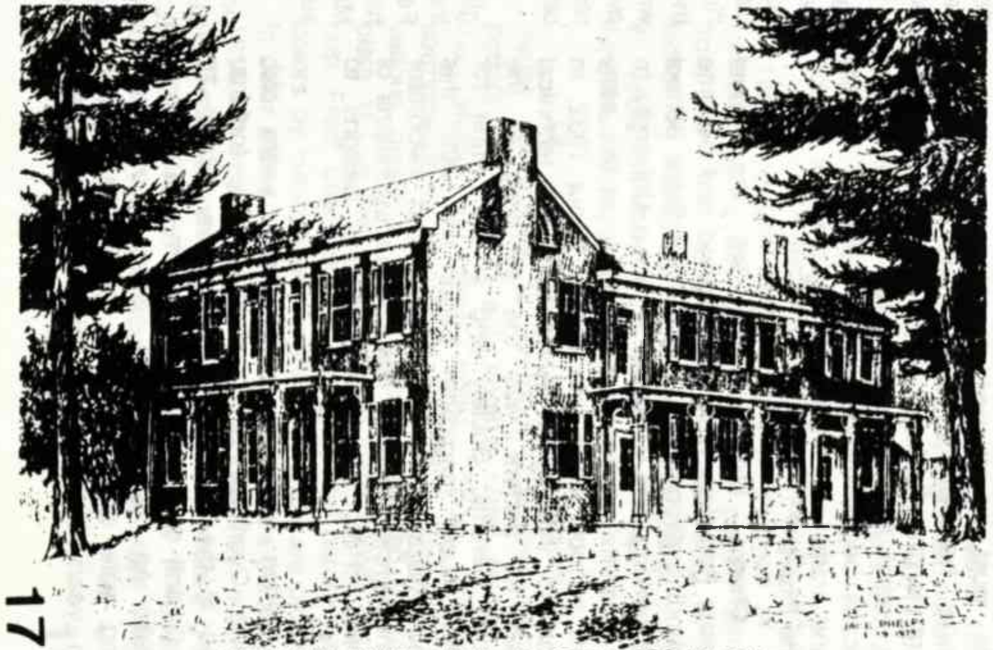
The Historic District includes homes, outbuildings, stores, industrial buildings, railroad structures and a small early filling station on West Main at North Walnut. The National Register of Historic Places is America's official list of cultural resources worthy of preservation. The Cambridge City Historic District, listed in 1991, has a broad range of styles and a high degree of integrity.


JACK PHILIPS

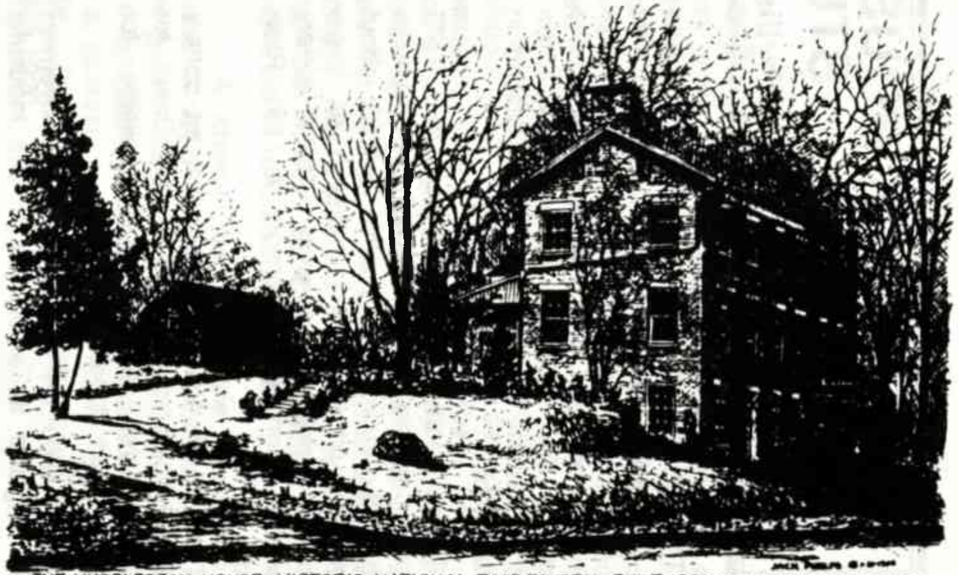
THE CONKLIN HOUSE — BUILT BY BENJAMIN CONKLIN IN 1840
OLD NATIONAL ROAD — CAMBRIDGE CITY, INDIANA


VINTON HOUSE
JACK PHILIPS

VINTON HOUSE - ONE OF THE OLDEST HOTELS IN IND., BUILT IN 1847 ON THE BANK OF THE WHITEWATER CANAL
CAMBRIDGE CITY, INDIANA


JACK PHILIPS

MEREDITH HOUSE — BUILT IN 1836 BY IRA LACKEY
HOME OF CIVIL WAR GENERAL, SOLOMON MEREDITH — CAMBRIDGE CITY, INDIANA


JACK PHILIPS

THE HUDDLESTON HOUSE - HISTORIC NATIONAL ROAD TAVERN - BUILT 1839 BY JOHN HUDDLESTON
CAMBRIDGE CITY (MOUNT AUBURN), IND.

OVERBECK HOUSE & ART POTTERY STUDIO

By Phyllis Mattheis

The beginning of art pottery in America was likely in Cincinnati, Ohio, at a ladies' china-painting meeting held in 1874. China painting, an overglaze decoration on porcelain, was quite the rage for the ladies of the day. They would buy white china dishes and decorate them by painting on designs in overglaze colors.

French pottery exhibited at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exposition influenced Louise McLaughlin of Cincinnati to publish a book about china painting on porcelain and also to begin experimenting in making pottery. In 1878 her pottery was awarded honorable mention at the Paris Exposition.

Prior to this time, porcelain and art pottery had been imported from Europe and the Orient, for fine native clays were not yet available for dinnerware and art objects.

About 1880 an arts and crafts movement began in England as a counter to the Industrial Revolution. By the turn of the century intellectuals had brought to America the ideals of the movement: objects must be at once simple, beautiful and functional; handwrought by a single craftsman. A wide range of individuals shared a kinship of these ideals, rather than a recognizable academic style. Americans began using their own designs in their arts and crafts, rather than copying those of Europe and the Orient.

Charles Fergus Binns left the Royal Worcester Porcelain Works in England and became the founding director of the New York State School of Clayworking and Ceramics at Alfred University in 1899. Students' work was experimental at this early ceramic school, which operated to about 1932. In addition to instruction, Binns authored technical manuals for potters, was the secretary of the American Ceramic Society and a staff writer for *Keramic Studio* magazine. Begun in 1899, this monthly magazine for the potter and decorator brought technical articles, news about exhibitions of arts and crafts, and china painting designs to readers.

When she was nearly thirty years old, Margaret Overbeck of Cambridge City, Indiana, studied at the Cincinnati Art Academy (about 75 miles distant) during the 1892-93 term and again in 1898-99. An accomplished artist, she taught drawing, water color and china painting for the next eleven years at DePauw University, Greencastle, Indiana. Margaret also provided early instruction for her younger sisters, Elizabeth and Mary Frances, before they attended art schools.

There were six Overbeck sisters. The eldest, Ida, had a photographic studio and was not active in pottery; nor was Harriet, who had studied languages and music in Europe, and gave private lessons to local students.

Hannah studied in Cincinnati and Terre Haute, then taught briefly in Indiana before poor health forced her to return home. Even though afflicted with chronic neuritis, she became a perfectionist in sketching and water colors.

Between 1903 and 1916 three of these women contributed designs for china painting to *Keramic Studio* magazine. Mary contributed to twenty-two issues (Volumes 5-28), Hannah's prolific art designs were carried in forty-seven issues (Volumes 5-27), and Margaret's talent was in seventeen issues (Volumes 5-14). Nineteen pages of the March 1907 issues were devoted to her designs and commentary. She wrote, "... when the highest degree of utility is reached, the elements of beauty have been attained..." and "Oh, that we could be our own potters!"

Their sister Elizabeth at age 34 studied for a year under Charles F. Binns in 1909-10 at the Alfred, New York, School of Clayworking. In her successful application to become a Fellow of the American Ceramic Society in 1936 she described Binns as an "incomparable teacher". Being named a Fellow is the highest honor for a ceramist. Kathleen Postle writes, "Because of her experimentation and early awards, Elizabeth probably brought more national recognition to Overbeck Pottery than did any of the other sisters."

After some experimental work with clay, glazes and firing, these four sisters established Indiana's first art pottery in 1911 in the frame Federal-style house at 520 East Church Street that had been the family home since 1882. Sadly, Margaret died later in that same year from injuries suffered in an automobile accident.

"The Pottery was built upon a definite philosophy, with an aim to achieve not quantity, but quality from both technical and aesthetic standpoints ... experimentation and originality were to be emphasized", writes Mrs. Postle. She also notes that the Overbecks considered experiment "one of the most fascinating elements in pottery making..."

The work was shared among the three women with Elizabeth, the technician, at the potter's wheel and developing their distinctive glazes, artists Mary and Hannah designing and glazing. The sisters chose to remain a small independent studio pottery.

In 1914 two large vases were commissioned by the General Federation of Women's Clubs for its Chicago convention. By 1921 the Overbeck School of Pottery was listed in a directory of the nine art schools in Indiana.

Production and recognition peaked in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Postle lists the products of the kiln in four categories:

1. The functional or conventional pieces; the jars, dinnerware, pitchers, tiles, candlesticks, tea and coffee pots.
2. Representational sculptures; small figurines drawn from real life, models, or photographs of both human and animal subjects, such as a Quaker pair, an historical personage, a family group or pet.
3. Grotesques; caricaturized sculptures created with a sense of humor and fantasy, depicting a local personality or well-known figure, or an animal.
4. Vases and bowls; the important pieces made on consignment for presentation gifts.

Through the years Overbeck Pottery took top prizes at the Indiana State Fair and in numerous other shows around the nation, including the Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago in 1933. Commissioned by the Public Works Administration in 1934 were two large vases with covers and stands for the Cambridge City Public Library, a set of five round tiles set in the wall of Central School in Cambridge City and a large tile plaque for Joseph Moore School in Richmond. When that building was demolished, the plaque was framed and now hangs in the school administration building.

All three women were listed in American Arts Annual. Mary and Elizabeth were also in Who's Who in American Art.

After Hannah's death in 1931 and Elizabeth's in 1936, Mary worked on alone. The 1943 Ceramic Trade Directory lists her production at 600 pieces annually. In addition, she designed book plates, illustrated poems, and painted in oil and water color numerous flower studies and birds in various postures. Mary's death at age seventy-seven in 1955 brought an end to creation of purely-American arts and crafts by this unique family of women artists. The pottery was in operation for forty-four years, from 1911 to 1955, and produced literally thousands of art works that were designed, formed, fired and sold from their home.

Growing groups of museum curators, art schools and collectors have developed a full realization of the artistry of Overbeck Pottery. Two books on art pottery written in 1974 include sections about Overbeck Pottery. Dr. Kathleen R. Postle's definitive volume, The Chronicle of the Overbeck Pottery, was published in 1978 by the Indiana Historical Society. Schroeder's Pottery Price Guide published in 1985 lists their wares.

A choice vase from the Cambridge City public library's collection was exhibited in 1986 in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, then traveled with the exhibition to Detroit, Los Angeles and New York. It is pictured in the catalog titled "The Art that is Life"; The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1875-1920.

Two recent books extol the virtues of Overbeck Pottery. Treasures of the American Arts and Crafts Movement 1890-1920, published in 1988, includes Overbeck in their list of eighteen potteries of note in the nation. Color plate number 83 of an 8 inch vase made by Mary and Elizabeth in the 1930s accompanies the text.

From September 23, 1990 through January 6, 1991, the Los Angeles County Museum or Art exhibited some 250 decorative arts pieces, dating from the 1880s to the 1930s. The catalog of this exhibition entitled American Arts and Crafts - Virtue in Design, features the finest expressions of the American arts and crafts movement.

Of the American potteries described, six pages are devoted to Overbeck. The three women potters are pictured with another sister, Harriet, in the studio of their home. Their Overbeck earthenware tile sign is an example of ones used by various potteries at exhibitions. Featured in color plate 161 is the commissioned 1914 GFWC trophy cup. From their book of designs, nine nature water colors by Hannah and a pastel by Mary are pictured in color plates, as well as Hannah's china painting c. 1915. Overbeck Pottery of Cambridge City, Indiana, receives the same high esteem as the stained glass of Louis Comfort Tiffany, the furniture of Gustav Stickley and the architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright in these books.

The Overbeck home and contents were described glowingly in a 1932 newspaper account. Had it been preserved intact in the 1950s, the home could have been a treasured example of the arts and crafts environment. After more than 80 years in the Overbeck family, the real estate was sold to an industrialist, and all the family's effects were dispersed at a public auction in 1965.

The Overbeck house itself has an interesting history prior to its becoming an art pottery studio. The frame Federal house, one of the area's early buildings, was built of brace-frame construction in the 1830s by Ira Lackey, one of the town's founders. Its unusual position at the foot of Pearl Street one block south of the National Road (now U.S. 40) indicates that it was probably constructed before the town plat of 1836.

For five years, from 1844-49, the property was owned by the Whitewater Canal Company. Lot Bloomfield was president of the town board in 1845 and also is referred to as an owner elsewhere in the abstract. It was during this time that the big flood which spelled disaster for the Whitewater Canal Company occurred on January 1, 1847.

In the fall of 1882, John Overbeck purchased the property and moved his family of six daughters and one son to town from a farm on Goose Heaven Road. The house was enlarged to its present size, and part of the open double porches on the east were enclosed to build a kitchen and a bath.

After John and his wife Sarah died, four of the sisters started the pottery studio. The property remained in the Overbeck family until 1965 when it was purchased by the industrialist. It was saved from the industrialist's wrecking crew shortly before it was to be destroyed.

In 1973 the property reverted to private ownership and a restoration of the house was begun. The portable Revelation kiln used by the sisters was repurchased and moved back into the small square kiln house near the southwest corner of the dwelling. The frame kiln house has a fish-scale-design stamped metal roof in pyramidal shape, topped by the smoke stack.

The new owners researched and prepared an application for inclusion of the Lackey-Overbeck House in the National Register of Historic Places. The U.S. Department of Interior placed the house on the register May 28, 1976.

A rose-colored sidewalk, designed by the Overbecks, leads visitors to the Greek Revival entranceway, detailed in an 1832 builder's guide written by Asher Benjamin of Boston. Inset double porches on the east facade lend a southern atmosphere. The dwelling has wide-board ash floors on the main level and poplar floors upstairs. A cherry banister graces the entrance hall stairway. Woodwork is painted poplar and pine. Much of the glass in the multi-pane sashes is original. Most of the molded doors retain their original brass hardware.

Working fireplaces are located in the front parlor and the studio at the rear. Beneath the studio fireplace is a cupboard lined with zinc used as a damp closet for clays. The School of Pottery held classes in the basement, where the pottery wheel was located. Apparatus for the one-person lift that was constructed to move the invalid Hannah between floors is still in place in an upstairs room.

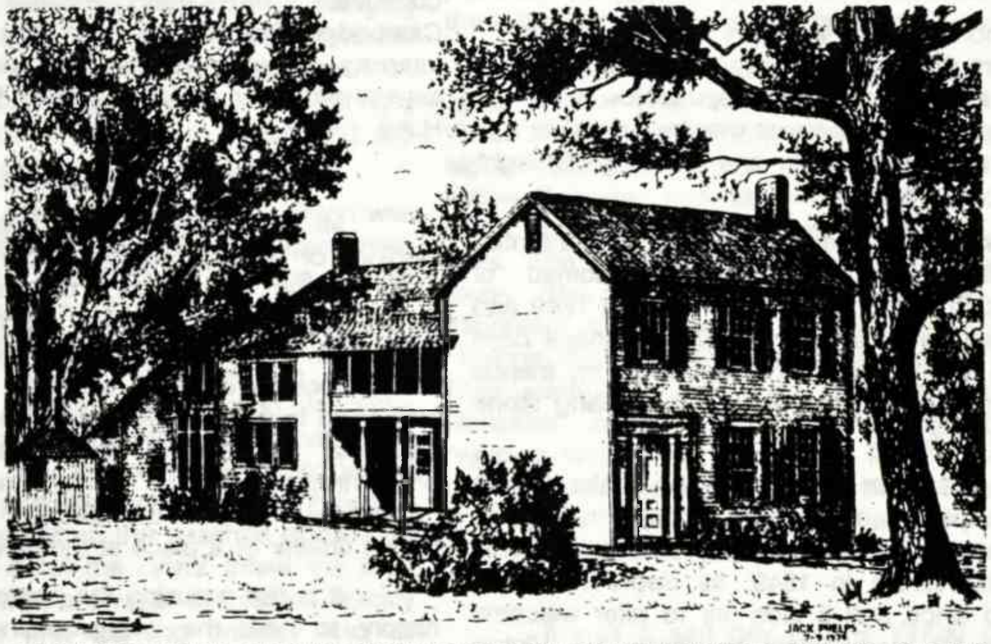
The present owners of the Lackey-Overbeck House, Jerry and Phyllis Mattheis, have been able to return some of the furniture owned by the Overbeck family to the house. Other furnishings are similar to those used by the Overbecks. Through purchases and the generosity of many, the Mattheis collection of Overbeck Pottery and art works is growing. Overbeck memorabilia includes paintings, photos, technical books, correspondence, clippings, Overbeck photography studio cabinet cards, family history, and journals of the American Ceramic Society. Also assembled are sieves and tools used for working clays, pyrometric cones used in firings, kiln fixtures, molds, imperfect pieces of pottery from the kiln, and yard tools. Junior Historians retrieved shards in an archaeological dig around the kiln house.

The Mattheis's documented the restoration of the house and share those slides and the Overbeck story with groups interested in the arts, architecture and history. As in the days when the Overbecks were making their distinctive pottery in this historic house, people from around the world tour the house and sign the current guest book. In the spring the same wild flowers carpet the lawn, Mary's water lilies bloom in her pool, and large oak, maple, pecan and buckeye trees provide shade in the park-like setting where so much creativity abounded in the first half of this century.

The legacy of the Overbeck sisters is perpetuated in their distinctive art work, much of which is displayed in Cambridge City. In 1972 Arthur and Kathleen Postle presented their Overbeck collection towards the establishment of the Overbeck Museum in the public library. In 1983 the basement room received new lighted glass cases, and a public open house was held to honor the Postle's. Due to their generosity, the library has a comprehensive collection of Overbeck art works, including oil paintings, fabrics, lace, metal work, jewelry, and ribbons and awards. Gifts from others are encouraged, as are loans.

Other permanent displays of Overbeck Pottery can be seen at the Indianapolis Museum of Art, the art gallery at Ball State University in Muncie, the Wayne County Historical Museum in Richmond, and at the Museum of Ceramics in the offices of the American Ceramic Society, Columbus, Ohio.

In his forward to Postle's book, Paul Evans writes, "What is evident in the Overbecks' pottery is a respect for the material they used and the integrity of the designs they employed. The two blended to form a unique, artistic object which reflects their skill and artistic ideals, an achievement which has earned for them an important place in the art history of the United States."



THE OVERBECK HOUSE AND KILN—CAMBRIDGE CITY, IND. — HOME OF OVERBECK POTTERY 1911—1955
FEDERAL AND GREEK REVIVAL STYLE HOUSE BUILT IN 1830'S BY IRA LACKEY, ONE OF TOWN'S FOUNDERS

THE VINTON HOUSE

INTERVIEW - ELBRIDGE GERRY VINTON

The Indianapolis News, Saturday, April 13, 1907

ELBRIDGE GERRY VINTON, KEEPER OF ONE HOTEL FROM STAGE COACH AND CANAL DAYS TO THESE TIMES OF STEAM, TRACTION AND AUTOMOBILE TRAVEL

OLD-FASHIONED BUILDING AND OLD-FASHIONED LANDLORD MAKE AN INTERESTING FEATURE OF LIFE AT CAMBRIDGE CITY, TERMINUS OF A ONCE BUSY CANAL.

SALLIE SELLS, AGE EIGHTY, EXPERT COOK OF THE BOAT TIMES - ANOTHER INTERESTING LINK WITH YEARS AGO--CHANGES THAT HAVE PASSED BEFORE THEIR EYES.

(From a Staff Correspondent)

Cambridge City, Ind. April 13--Here dwells Elbridge Gerry Vinton, the prince of gadabouts. He is the living definition of restless spirit. Now in his eighty-third year, it is his boast that he has been able to content himself under one roof only fifty-eight years. He is a rover, indeed.

"I wish I could settle down and be contented with my lot," says the venerable nomad of Cambridge City. "I bought this old hotel in 1849 and have only lived in it ever since. One of these days I'm going to get mad and move, although my friends keep drumming it into my ears that a rolling stone gathers no moss."

The old hotel he speaks of is the Vinton House, perhaps the oldest hotel in Indiana in point of continuous service. Opened by Mr. Vinton as a National road tavern in 1849, its doors have not been closed since and it bids fair to offer welcome to wayfarers for many years to come. Mr. Vinton delights in talking about his "roving" disposition. He would be lost in life's desert anywhere but between the four walls of his old tavern.

Early in 1844 a company of forty-one young Yankees left Boston to journey into the West. One of the forty-one was Elbridge Gerry Vinton. The travelers moved by stage from Boston to Pittsburg. There they took transportation by boat to Cincinnati. Their eyes were turned toward Indiana and when they reached the Ohio city the forty-one made inquiry as to how to get into the heart of the Hoosier wilderness. They were informed that a canal had been dug from Cincinnati to Laurel, Ind., and was being continued to Cambridge City. The canal was called the Whitewater, after the stream that fed it. The Yankee wanderers decided to travel by canal boat from Cincinnati to Laurel and then go by wagon to Cambridge City, where it was said a prosperous little town was springing up in the wilderness. They sat on the deck of the canal boats and glided toward their future home. Only one of the original forty-one Yankees still lives to tell the story. That is Elbridge Gerry Vinton.

When the Yankees reached Cambridge City they sought employment in the village and on the farms. Some had means and bought small tracts of land. Young Vinton found employment as a porter at the White Hall, a famous old National road tavern, in the western part of Cambridge City. It was owned by Gen. Solomon Meredith. Vinton worked at the White Hall about two years and then bought it from his employer on the installment plan. Vinton also conducted the Great Western Hotel, another Cambridge City tavern, but finally centered all his interests in what is now the Vinton House. For several years he called the latter the United States Hotel.

From Stage to Automobile Days.

Mr. Vinton has had an interesting career as landlord of the old Vinton. Under its roof he has given shelter to travelers by stage, canal boat, steam train, electric car and automobile, practically every form of transportation known to American life. At his door have halted caravans of men mounted on ponies bearing heavy saddle-bags and bound for California, the land of gold. Presidents, Senators, philanthropists, actors, lawyers and other history makers have entered the low door of the old Vinton to find shelter or a place at the table.

It is like perusing the pages of a long-written history to hear the octogenarian hotel keeper of Cambridge City relate his experiences. One's thoughts travel back to old stage-coach days and the picture is of a big lumbering stage rattling across the Whitewater bridge at the eastern end of town, the driver's trumpet heralding the approach of the stage. The trumpet's blasts brought the populace hurriedly to the front door of the Vinton House. Out stepped Elbridge Gerry Vinton, mine host, to receive his guests.

He was younger and stronger then than now, for now he sits in an easy chair in the broad, old-fashioned parlor on the second floor of the hotel.

He is not the strong, robust fellow of fifty years ago. Affliction has come to tear down a remarkable constitution, but he will withstand its attempts at destruction yet many days, if his doctor's word is good. Several months ago Mr. Vinton suffered an attack of hemorrhage of the brain and it came near bringing about his end, but he rallied and is recovering. He expects to be back behind the desk of the Vinton on his eighty-third birthday, which will be on July 11, next.

"Good, Grand Old Days."

Mr. Vinton speaks of the times of fifty years ago as "the good, grand old days." He revels in the memory of them. "The people were not dollar-mad then." the octogenarian declares. "Folks did neighborly things for the sake of being neighborly and not for the purpose of blowing about how benevolent they were. Nowadays if anybody does another fellow a kindness he goes and puts it in the paper. You don't hear about latchstrings hanging out any more, do you? Why, in the good, grand old days we delighted in our hospitality and had fun visiting back and forth. Now if you go to visit and the folks aren't at home you leave a card and say "Goody" when you slip it under the door."

Back in the stage-coach days Mr. Vinton was the agent for the state companies. He represented the telegraph and the United States mail line and his registers tell an interesting story of the business he did with travelers and the stage companies. He not only registered the travelers, but also the amount they paid for fare and their destination. In those days Muncie was called Muncietown and that name frequently appears on the registers. The Vinton House was also a post for the exchange of horses that drew the stages. When the coaches dashed up to the door of the hotel the driver threw the lines across their backs with a sweep. Stablemen quickly unhitched the tired and foaming animals and as quickly swung fresh ones into line for a journey of ten miles east or west over the National road.

A Few Minutes for Refreshments.

While the horses were being changed the travelers would refresh themselves either at the table of the Vinton House or at its once famous old bar. There they would tell of the happenings in the part of the country from which they had just come, at the same time regaling themselves in the brandies that landlord Vinton passed over the bar. When the stage was ready to resume its journey the horn would be blown, the travelers would climb into and on top of the vehicle, the driver would give vent to a howl and sweep his whip over the heads of the horses. Then the thoroughly excited animals would plunge into the middle of the road and dash on their way, the travelers waving farewells to the jovial landlord and his friends back at the tavern.

The opening of the Whitewater canal from Cincinnati to Cambridge City added interest to affairs at the Vinton tavern. The canal ended at the back door of the Vinton. The boats turned in a basin there. During the fifties the canal boats engaged in lively competition for business and one enterprising company established a day line of packets between Cambridge City and Cincinnati. A boat started from each terminal every morning and reached the other end of the canal shortly after dark. The distance of eighty miles was covered by having relays of horses and mules at points ten miles apart. The canal boatmen would send the boats along at a lively pace by compelling the horses and mules to cover the ten miles as fast as they could go.

There is living in Cambridge City to-day an aged woman who forms an important link in Mr. Vinton's chain of memory. Her name is Sallie Sells, eighty years old. In the fifties Mrs. Sells was the widow Gonzales and was a cook on one of the fast canal boats, the Etna, owned by Captain Valentine Sells. The widow was a great favorite along the route. She was particularly a favorite with the daughters of Mr. Vinton, the Misses Lillieore and Florinne Vinton, who are now conducting the hotel. They were little girls then and when the widow Gonzales' canal boat came to port there was rejoicing among the youngsters, for she was always baking when the Etna reached the Cambridge City end of the canal. The widow always invited the children aboard to enjoy some warm bread, butter and jelly.

It was a sad day for the Vinton girls when the canal was abandoned, for the railroad came to destroy its traffic. Early in the sixties the old canal was closed because the Indiana Central railroad had absorbed its business. The story is told that on the day the Etna made her last trip the widow Gonzales stepped out on the towpath at Cambridge City and confronted Captain Valentine Sells, the owner, with a business proposition. It was something like this:

"Cap'n Sells, you're single. So'm I. You need a wife. I need a husband. The old canal's done for an' we've got to hustle some other way. Let's hustle together. You need me an' we might as well get married."

Matrimonial Business Plan.

Cap'n Valentine Sells accepted the proposition in a business-like way and they hustled off to a 'squire and were married. They lived nicely in an humble cottage in Cambridge City until a few years ago, when the old captain died. It is told here that Mrs. Sells used to swell with pride over her achievements as a cook and housekeeper, a thing she had reason to do, and say: "Valentine, you've got an awful good wife." To which Valentine would always laughingly reply: "Yes, Sallie, I have--sometimes."

"Aunt Sallie" Sells, as the later generation knows her, lives in her little cottage alone now. It is as neat as a pin, the clean floors being almost hidden under beautiful rugs that are her own handi--(*Editors note: Here the article jumps as though something were left out.*) reason of the fact that she names them according to their traits as applied to Bible characters. She calls her cat Esau because she can't keep him at home.

Mrs. Sells and landlord Vinton are warm friends. Since his illness she has been a frequent visitor to the hotel and the two octogenarians sit by a sunny window and talk over old times with a work. She clings to old-fashioned customs and delights in telling of the fun she used to have back in canal boat days. She places quaint construction on some parts of the English language and amuses her friends with it. Not long ago she had her picture taken and when asked who made the negative, replied: "My son Enoch took it, Took it with one of these common little krodykes."

She has a number of pets that keep her company and to each of these she has attached a biblical name. She insists that the names are easier to remember by relish. Both live in the past and their reminiscences are frequently productive of much good humor. They can be heard laughing almost any moment they are together. The Misses Vinton enjoy having "Aunt Sallie" as a guest and are continually urging her to "run down and see father because it does him so much good."

The Vinton House is as old-fashioned in its architecture and equipment as its owner. The building is of brick, three stories in height and there are thirty-six guest rooms, each of which contain an old-fashioned bed with a new-fashioned box mattress, a combination that makes the hotel popular. One is impressed with the old-fashionedness of things the moment one enters the office on the first floor. The office desk is paneled and occupies a corner of the room. On the walls are steel engravings of the family of James A. Garfield and of Daniel Webster addressing the Senate during the famous debate on the compromise measure in 1850. Mr. Vinton was a great admirer of Webster and reads everything he can find pertaining to him. On his reading table one may find at all times Everett's biography of the great statesman. In the hall on the second floor are several valuable steel engravings of Abraham Lincoln. In the larger guest chambers the beds have the antique canopies that were popular when grandmother was a little girl.

The rear dooryard of the old Vinton House is an attractive place in summer. Out there the flowers and grass grow in profusion. There the Vinton children used to play while awaiting the coming of the Etna with its cook and her freshly baked bread. Near the dooryard the quiet old Whitewater canal sleeps half-hidden between rows of shops and stores. Between two old frame buildings there is an opening that leads down to a little boathouse. Mr. Vinton built the boathouse years ago for his grandchildren, now grown-ups. There they used to spend many happy hours.

Whitewater canal is fast filling up and will, before many years be lost to all except history. The towpath has almost become lost through the changes of the years. Houses have been built where the horses and mules used to plod along.

Landlord's Eccentricities.

The eccentricities of landlord Vinton are the basis for many a yarn by the "drummers" who have come and gone from the old Vinton House in the long years that it has sheltered them.. CLeanliness has been a hobby of the landlord and his family to the same degree that they took pride in their table and beds. A tobacco-chewing guest, one of the kind that is not particular about sanitary rules in parlor or office, always finds chilly welcome at the Vinton, and he frequently finds a little additional charge tacked on to his bill. If he objects he is frankly told why it is there.

A story is told of a fresh young drummer who stopped at the Vinton several years ago. He was one of the sort that complained about everything. Landlord Vinton hustled around and tried to cope with his complaints. The fresh young drummer remained at the hotel one day. His bill should have been $2. It was $4. "Why do you charge me $4 a day and other people two?" he protested. "Four dollars or nothing," answered Mr. Vinton. The drummer paid the bill and went away. He told a friend how he had been "soaked" as he called it. "You must have kept the old man hopping around waiting on you," suggested the friend. "Well, I did demand some attention," he admitted. "Yes, I'll bet you kicked on everything," the other added "That's one hotel where it doesn't pay to be too fresh. The old man made you pay for getting gay."

Found He was Remembered.

The same fresh young drummer went back to the Vinton a month later. He was there for a day. He was the world of good nature and didn't ask a single favor. When he asked for his bill he was surprised to hear landlord Vinton say: "Your bill is paid, sir. You paid it last month." The young drummer was not slow to understand and went away happy.

Mr. Vinton is a perfect Chesterfield in manner. He raises his hat to everybody, never calls anybody by anything but the surname and that with the prefix of "Mister," "Madam" or "Miss." He is a prime favorite with the children of Cambridge City. He has always been fond of them. There are grandmothers in Cambridge City today who used to receive candy from his hands when they were little girls.

The landlord has always kept a diary. It contains volumes of data that are interesting to him. He has always kept a weather report in it. When he recovered consciousness after his recent illness the first question he asked was about the temperature so that he might place it in his diary.

He counts every move he makes. His daughters tell that he always counts steps on the stairs when he ascends or descends them. He always counts strokes of pump handles and turns of an ice-cream freezer. He frequently amuses himself by counting the ticks of the clock. He used to count his steps to and from the market.

Mr. Vinton has a remarkable memory for poetry. He can recite poems of great length, and he recites them well. Most of them pertain to youth and old age and have a sentiment that is pleasing to him. He also remembers the witty sayings of guests and repeats them. In the old days Sol Smith Russell was frequently a guest at the Vinton House and he was always welcome because he brought new stories. Mr. Vinton is known for his ready wit, and his "get-backs" at sharp-tongued guests have always been a source of much amusement for the other fellows.

The landlord of the Vinton is of a generous nature, and his family has always profited by it. When he used to make trips to Cincinnati to buy provisions for his hotel he always returned with presents for the family. One of the treasures of the household to-day is a handsome silk shawl valued at $1,000. He bought it for Mrs. Vinton, who has been dead several years. On one of these trips to Cincinnati he entered a store and asked for the finest shawl in the house. The shawl was brought forth. It was of extraordinary size and as beautiful as it was large.

"That's a beautiful shawl," he said to the salesman. "But Katie hasn't got any thing to go with it. Well, I'll take it anyhow, for Katie is a little bit of a thing and it will cover her over so completely that the folks won't see her old clothes."

And he bought it. The shawl is so heavy that a frail woman would be borne down by it. There is also a collection of jewelry in the Vinton House safe that is valuable for its age. There are several old-fashioned cameos that would delight any woman. They were the property of Mrs. Vinton, all gifts from her husband.

No man ever possessed two more faithful daughters than Mr. Vinton. Since their father's illness the Misses Florinne and Lillieore Vinton have taken complete charge of the old hotel and are making it go. They are the soul of devotion to their father and watch over him with loving eyes. Their one dream is his complete recovery and return to the old paneled desk downstairs, a place so familiar to him that he feels he is robbed of one of life's greatest joys when not permitted to be there. For it is behind that desk that he has been at home for fifty-eight years.

W. M. HERSCHELL

The above article is on microfilm at the Allen County Fort Wayne Public Library and was submitted to the CSI by **Craig Leonard, Historic Preservation Consultant, Bluffton, IN**

Editors note: A drummer was a traveling salesman. He often beat on a drum to attract attention. "Drumming up business" is derived from this term.

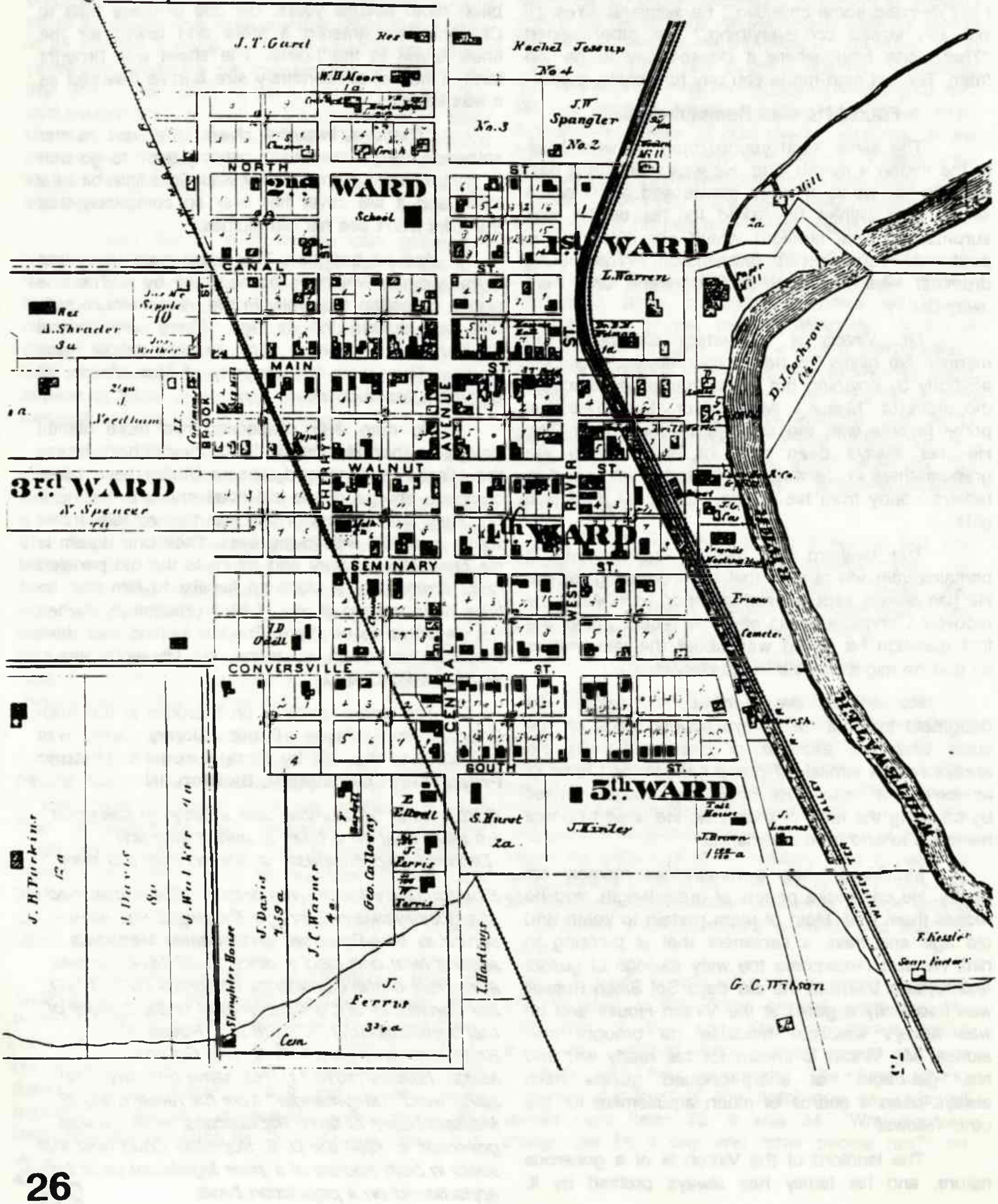
Elbridge Gerry Vinton was born in 1824 and named after Vice-President Elbridge Thomas Gerry, who served as Vice-President under James Madison's second term and died in office 11/23/1814. He was a member of the Continental Congress (1776-1785), the Constitutional Convention (one of the signers of that constitution) (1787), the U.S. House of Representatives (1789-1793), and Governor of Massachusetts (1810-11). His name originated the slang word "gerrymander" from his redistricting of Massachusetts to favor Republicans, while he was governor. In 1964 the U. S. Supreme Court held that seats in both houses of a state legislature must be apportioned on a population basis.

MILTON -1874-

ATLAS OF WAYNE COUNTY

Founded 1824

(Washington Twp) Scale 20 Rods to an Inch.


J. T. Gard
Res.
W. H. Moore
Rachel Jessup
No. 4
No. 3
J. W. Spangler
No. 2
Mill
NORTH
2nd WARD
School
ST.
1st WARD
L. Warren
CANAL
Res.
A. Shrader
Jas. McSupple
MAIN
ST.
D. J. Cochran
N. Needham
BROOK
CHARITY
AVENUE
WALNUT
RIVER
3rd WARD
N. Spencer
4th WARD
SEMINARY
WEST
ST.
Cemetery
J. D. Odell
CONVERSVILLE
ST.
SOUTH
5th WARD
Toll House
J. Kinley
J. Brown
E. Elliott
S. Hurst
J. Ferris
W. Ferris
Geo. Calloway
J. C. Warner
J. Davis
J. B. Parkins
J. Davis
J. Walker
Slaughter House
J. Ferris
Cem.
T. Hastings
T. Kessler
Soap Factory
G. C. Wilson

MILTON
AN IMPORTANT EARLY SETTLEMENT
By Phyllis Mattheis

In 1993 one must use some imagination to visualize that Milton in Washington Township was the most important Wayne County settlement west of Centerville before the survey for the National Road. Today, travelers quickly passing through the little town on Indiana One are scarcely aware of the quaint charm the village possessed even into the 1960s. Now vacant lots belie the early frame and brick structures that once lined east-west Main Street and north-south Central Avenue in the town's heyday.

The area opened for settlement following the 1809 Twelve Mile Purchase, but during the War of 1812, early pioneers fled to two log blockhouses near the rivers when Indians threatened. One blockhouse was about a mile north of Milton on Martindale Creek and the other was south near Lockport, south of where Greens Fork empties into West Branch. Lockport is just one of the Wayne County settlements that disappeared over time. It probably was located near today's Valley Grove Cemetery along Indiana One about four miles south of Milton. It is written that there were two locks at Lockport.

Settlers were living along the banks of West Branch by 1821. The village of Milton, platted in 1824 on four blocks, was soon prospering and promising.

As in most self-dependent communities, early businesses included a grist mill near the river, a blacksmith and a harness shop. Soon there were tanning yards, pork packing, dry goods, grocery and drug stores, a bank, bakery, tin shop, saloon and, most importantly, a post office by 1829. (When a later post office building on East Main was demolished about 1972, the wooden postmaster's window and mail boxes were donated to the Wayne County Museum in Richmond where they can be seen today in the basement as part of the "village".) A hotel, restaurant, doctor and veterinarian provided services for travelers and area residents.

The town's high hopes of becoming a major center of commerce were dashed when the National Road was surveyed and constructed two miles north of the community. Yet, by 1835 there were one hundred houses in town. Some early private schools preceded the first public school, started after 1840. There is record of a newspaper as early as 1841.

The routing of the Whitewater Canal through the village in the 1840s raised hopes and business flourished. Four warehouses were built to accommodate goods brought for shipment. Just southeast of town were two canal structures; an aqueduct over a deep creek and a lock about 100 feet long and 15 feet in height.

In 1976 the Indiana Junior Historical Society excavated down to the wooden floor at the south end of the Milton lock and found it in a remarkable state of preservation. Today the west side of the south gate wall and both sides of the north gate walls still stand, but the stones of the lock itself have tumbled in between. Part of the stone-arch aqueduct is visible deep below the old towpath. The west bank of the canal has been plowed, but one can easily see the line of the canal by observing the utility poles that march down its path from the 1910 railroad bridge on South Center Street in Cambridge City, through a field, across Indiana One just north of Milton, down through the east side of Milton, across the aqueduct, through the lock and on southward.

In Milton the canal prism can be seen both north and south from the East Seminary Street bridge. A small Friends cemetery is just southeast of the bridge.

Following the demise of the canal, two railroads passed through the town. In 1876 there were 1200 residents, and as many as 140 men were employed in the manufacture of several kinds of agricultural implements.

A seed drill was patented by Joseph Ingels. His business became the Hoosier Drill Company, which prospered in Milton from 1859 to 1877, before it moved to Richmond. A major stockholder in the company, Issac Kinsey was a leading figure in town. Kinsey's Hall was located on the northwest corner of Main and Central in a two-story brick building that houses a local antique shop today.

Kinsey amassed a fortune from the California gold rush and the highly profitable sale of his Hoosier Drill stock. He spent $80,000 and six years during the 1860s building his magnificent 21-room Italianate mansion "Beechwood" on the prominent knoll south of town on Sarver Road.

Surprisingly, Milton was at the end of a spur line of the state's east-west interurban line which began operating just after the turn of the century. George Callaway, a Milton resident, was on the board at Indianapolis that granted a right of way for the line from Indianapolis to Richmond. He insisted on the connection to Milton and as a result, residents could ride the "Dinkey" car to Cambridge City and then take the interurban or train to almost any place in Indiana until about 1941.

Soon Henry Ford's affordable automobiles were taking people elsewhere for pleasure and shopping, resulting in stores and shops closing one by one. Without income, the business buildings and some homes fell into disrepair and were demolished. However, an important early structure, the Milton-Connersville Pike toll house, is now a charming brick home at the east end of South Street.

Milton's most important social group is the Masonic Lodge, chartered in 1851. In 1870 the lodge purchased a two-story brick building previously owned by the Whitewater Valley Canal Company. Located on West River Street north of Main, it is now stuccoed and continues as the lodge hall.

Organized in 1878, the Milton Cary Club, is the oldest Wayne county club in the General Federation of Women's Clubs and one of the oldest in the state. With a membership of up to 30, it continues as a literary club for the women of Washington Township and beyond.

Sometime prior to the Civil War a Ku Klux Klan was organized and receives credit for pelting the school house with stones and brick bats in 1842 during a public lecture on the national subject of slavery. However, it is recorded that, following a 1922 fire that destroyed the Christian Church, ten klansmen marched into the IOOF lodge where the congregation was meeting and silently presented the pastor with $100 in cash towards rebuilding the church.

Today Milton has an active volunteer fire department and town board. One company employs a handful of people making special shipping pallets and custom door sills. On Central Avenue (Indiana One) there is a post office, a mini-mart, an antique shop and an elementary school, but the livelihood of many of the 700 residents depends on employment in other communities.

TERRE HAUTE

THROUGH

THE CANAL ERA

A Sketch of Aspects of
of Terre Haute, Indiana History
From Prehistoric Times through
the Wabash & Erie Canal Era

by MIKE McCORMICK

CANAL SOCIETY of INDIANA
SPRING
TOUR
APRIL 8-10, 1994
TERRE HAUTE, IN

FOREWARD

When Canal Society of Indiana President Bob Schmidt asked me to prepare a "brief history of Terre Haute" for distribution during the April, 1994 tour, I nodded in the affirmative. For completely different reasons, neither he nor I knew what we were getting into.

Bob did not know that I already had written a few thousand unpublished pages about Terre Haute history. I did not know how difficult it would be to condense those pages into a "brief" sketch and still meet a "deadline." The result, which you hold in your hand, is not what either of us expected (though at the time I write this, he has not seen the "pamphlet," only fretted about it being completed).

Bob made it clear that CSI members love "their history." Hopefully, this document will offer you a few items that you did not already know. It discusses a few topics never before published in a Terre Haute or Indiana history: the Fox fort and the Battalle des Illinois, the French fort at Terre Haute and names of prominent native Americans who affected lives in the southern Wabash River valley.

Perhaps you will conclude that men like William Crawford Linton, Thomas Holdsworth Blake and Thomas Dowling should not be forgotten. Their existence was dedicated to the state's internal improvements and the success of the Wabash & Erie Canal. All three died while still serving the canal.

This presentation sketches both "Terre Haute aux des Ouabache" from 1730 to 1816 and a youthful village of Terre Haute as it struggled to get the canal. By necessity, much has been omitted: people, events, places and things. I am particularly distressed that time and space did not permit the inclusion of footnotes. Perhaps, some day, an expanded, improved footnoted edition can be published. There is no effort here to improve on, or upstage, Paul Fatout's INDIANA CANALS. It is an excellent book for those who want an understanding of canals in the midwest and the Wabash & Erie Canal, in particular.

This document contains mistakes. Only a few, I hope, are the result of ignorance. Several may be the result of incomplete or inadequate source material. The remainder are editing mistakes. I accept full responsibility for errors: I was the only proofreader. Please feel free to let me know about any errors. I'll probably found some myself before you read this.

To my wife, Becky, and my two children, Erin and Brian, I apologize for the nights spent at the office in the past month. Thanks to CSI board member Jeff Koehler who offered encouragement and support. He was given the first opportunity to assist in the copying and collation of the finished product. Thanks, also, to those historians who have saved our past so that we can better understand ourselves, particularly scholars who have spent hours translating documents of foreign lands and publishing them.

Mike McCormick

April 9, 1994
Terre Haute, Indiana

TERRE HAUTE THROUGH THE CANAL ERA

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I. INTRODUCTION

Though the village of Terre Haute, Indiana, was not platted until 1816, *Terre Haute aux des Ouabache* achieved identity a century earlier. It may have possessed a prehistoric geographic individuality.

In spite of a rich inheritance, the history of the largest community on the Wabash River may be Indiana's best kept secret.

Terre Haute is a city of paradoxes. It is a city which produced prominent social reformers yet, in many ways, it is a bastion of conservatism. It is a blue collar city which supports three accredited four-year institutions of higher learning, a vocational technical college, a business college, two art galleries, a civic symphony orchestra, the state's oldest community theater, a professional summer stock theater, three museums, three television stations, 12 radio stations, a 10,200 seat civic-university amphitheater and a fine park system.

It has been a "union city" but also the former home of governors, cabinet members, jurists, politicians, ambassadors and diplomats, and a plethora of nationally recognized inventors, scientists, manufacturers and distillers, suffragists, authors, artists, sculptors, composers, musicians, orators, stage and screen stars, journalists, soldiers and millionaires. Military posts and Indian agencies made it a strategic location during French and early American occupations.

A President of Liberia, the first black United States Senator, the first black man to serve as governor in the United States, the first black Indiana legislator and the first black professional baseball player resided in Terre Haute.

Penicillin, corn oil, carbonated water, hybrid popcorn, the Coca Cola bottle, the dictograph, the American monoplane, recreational vehicles, vaccines for Rocky Mountain spotted fever and typhus, the digital audio disc, the bon bon and the pay toilet find roots there.

It has been a sporting center since the Civil War, the site of the world's fastest harness racing track, the place where professional baseball flourished for 83 years and the home of the owners of the Indianapolis Motor Speedway.

It has a historical association with vice, prostitution and gambling. Two of its mayors have been impeached. Yet, it was a pioneer religious center and, currently, supports over 200 churches.

Now the town which once called itself "Porkopolis" no longer has one slaughter house. The home of America's "Hominy King," major flour mills and nationally-recognized food processors now sends its grain elsewhere for refining. Facilities which served as railroad headquarters have been vacated, abandoned or replaced. Manufacturers of wheels, spokes, railroad cars and other equipment no longer are part of the town's character. Coal, iron and zinc -- natural resources which were staples to the area's economy -- and the fabricators of equipment needed in mining operations virtually have disappeared: no rolling mills remain. The "garment capital," which boasted six manufacturers of overalls, no longer has a textile manufacturer. The distilleries which produced over 14% of the nation's revenue prior to World War I, are gone. No breweries or manufacturers of candy, cigars, glass, caskets, malleable castings, bricks, stoves, mattresses or automobiles endure. The nation's finest minor league baseball park has been converted to a football stadium; professional baseball is no longer available. The town that "set aside" 18 square blocks for a red-light district in 1900 recently rejected an erotic magazine publishing house.

The city which thrived on race horse farms for nearly four decades expressed no interest in horse racing or parimutuel betting. River activities, at one time an integral part of the area's heritage, are minimal and the opportunity to lure riverboat gambling to the Wabash River was rebuffed. The town which once supported nine locally-owned newspapers simultaneously now survives with one foreign-owned daily.

Though its high schools have produced only two state team sports champions, Terre Haute has spawned 30 major league baseball players including two in the National Baseball Hall of Fame, five Olympic gold medal winners, 12 National Basketball Association players, six consensus All America basketball players, 12 National Football Association players, two consensus All America football players, two national skeet shooting champions, a world professional boxing champion, two national amateur boxing champions, a world champion cyclist, national champions in bowling and three cushion billiards and the most successful boxing trainer in history.

Terre Haute was the most dynamic internal improvement locale in Indiana through the Nineteenth Century. It offered the partially navigable Wabash River, the National Road (1838), the Wabash & Erie Canal (1849) and railroads (1852). In 1904, it was served by 11 railroads which made 104 daily passenger stops and railroad traffic continued to increase. Only the canal has totally vanished but, in spite of a recent identity as a regional trucking center, the community's reputation as a transportation hub has dimmed. Hulman Regional Airport remains Indiana's second largest airport facility.

Terre Haute's past is filled with soaring achievements, missed opportunities and devastating setbacks. Indiana's largest wholesale dry goods store was destroyed by a tragic fire in 1898. Two of the world's largest distilleries and the seventh largest brewery closed during Prohibition. The Johnson Brothers Motor Company was demolished by a 1913 tornado. The world's largest producer of phonograph records and other leading industries have moved facilities elsewhere. Of its ten largest industrial employers in 1950, only one remains.

As the Twenty-first Century approaches, the community struggles to find its identity. There is plenty to build upon. Terre Haute will survive.

II. THE PREHISTORIC ERA IN THE WABASH RIVER VALLEY

Prior to the Spanish "discovery" of the New World, there were an estimated 40,000,000 native Americans living in the Western Hemisphere. The exact date the species *Homo sapiens* arrived on this side of the world is one of history's thorniest problems.

Anthropologists traditionally divide North American Indian cultures into geographically defined groups. For the most part, this is a fiction since there were no territorial boundaries among natives. Even the "culture" distinction is a fabrication. Each group eventually adjusted to its environment.

The prehistoric occupation of the Wabash River Valley is an enigma. Recent scholarly attempts have been made to group Indian languages into "families" in an effort to find pre-European contact connections with known Indian nations. Though progress has been made, the studies suffer from incomplete evidence. For example, the last speaker of the Miami-Illinois Central Algonquin dialect died in 1965 before a systematic study of that language was initiated. In every study, conclusions are based upon European communications with the natives, Indian tradition, archaeological excavations and radiocarbon dating. The Miami nation, a member of the Algonquin language family, associates itself with northern Indiana. The Illinois nation, another Algonquin nation, occupied and claimed the Illinois River basin. The Quapaw, a Siouan nation, had been here. The Chickasaw, a member of the Muskogean language family, wielded influence. The Cherokee, a Southern Iroquoian family, was known by local tribes. And there seemed to be a correlation between certain Southern Indiana sites and Middle Mississippian cultures located both at Cahokia, Illinois and at Emerald Mound near Natchez, Mississippi.

Only one popular archaeological survey of Vigo County has been published in this century. The survey avoided discussion of the post-European contact era and no correlation was made between European artifacts uncovered and a specific ethnic group.

The survey pointed out that early inhabitants of the area had several natural environments available to them: wet prairie, dry prairie, stream-bottom forests, oak-hickory forest, swamp regions, swamp forests, bluffs and flats. Most prehistoric village sites were located on the edges of dry prairies, generally near wooded areas but away from the river. Most excavated sites were connected with the Middle to Late Woodland periods. Sparse few were identified with the Late Archaic, Early Woodland or Mississippian eras.

Early Vigo County accommodated several significant mounds. Farming operations have destroyed most major sites. The sole prominent moundwork remaining is the "Schoolhouse Mound," located in Prairie Creek Township, which generated few artifacts but evidenced past excavations and produced an Adena-related potsherd.

Several Crab Orchard Hopewellian culture complexes from the Middle Woodland period are found along the Wabash, denoting an intricate trade network that seemed to collapse around 400 A.D., perhaps due to climatic changes. This subculture is identified with paddle-edge stamped and plain ceramics.

Prevalent sites along the southern Wabash are classified with the LaMotte culture, a Late Woodland occupation which takes its name from a prairie on the west side of the river immediately south of Terre Haute. It is marked by simple stamped and check-stamped ceramics which are believed to be an intrusion from the Southeast.

Mississippian occupations of southwestern Indiana are dominated by the Angel Mound site on the Ohio River in Vanderburgh County and the Merom site in Sullivan County, just south of Terre Haute, on the Wabash River. The Merom bluffs rightfully could have been called "*terre haute*." Other Mississippian sites are found in Posey County, Indiana, near the mouth of the Wabash, and near Vincennes on a terrace of the Embarrass River. In the century before the French reached the Wabash, either mass emigration or disease epidemic may have impacted upon the area.

In the 19th Century, Terre Haute's John Collett was a serious student of geology while his brother, Josephus, was a prolific collector of Indian artifacts as well as a railroad magnate and philanthropist. Under the guidance of Dr. Robert Pace, Indiana State University's anthropology department developed a regional reputation for its fieldwork at prehistoric sites. Much of Dr. Pace's work was performed outside of the immediate area and, in many cases, written reports are not available for popular use.

III. THE FRENCH AND THE NATIVE AMERICANS

A. The arrival of the French

Before French fur traders first visited the Wabash River Valley late in the 17th Century, it was occupied by Quapaw Indians. That nation sought escape from invasions by the French or the Iroquois, and moved south and west of the Mississippi River. Their traditions, reported later to early Indian scholars like Henry Schoolcraft, speak to their residency in this area.

The *coureur de bois*, as the French fur traders were called, were, for the most part, uneducated. No contemporary documents have surfaced, for instance, addressing the presence of the Quapaw. On the other hand, 18th Century French relations describe, often in great detail, Indian activities along the Wabash.

Until about 1720, Indians described the river now known as the Ohio (or the "Belle River"), from the point of its confluence with the Wabash until it meets the Mississippi, as the "Ouabache," or a name synonymous with it. The French, independently and based upon dialogue with the native Americans, adopted that identity. As a result of this geographic inaccuracy, narratives frequently were inexact. Some inaccuracies creep into modern history books.

At least 17 native American nations, exclusive of the Quapaws, exercised an influence on the Wabash River Valley after European contact. The Eastern Woodlands, land located from the Atlantic seaboard south to the Gulf of Mexico and west to a short distance west of the Mississippi River, is an immense region which provides the backdrop for a perpetual native American drama. Its northern boundary is obscure. Except for the southern Appalachian mountain range, no convenient internal barriers permit one to sequester an Indian culture into a subregion of that vast expanse.

Soon after the Europeans occupied the eastern North America, internal Indian wars erupted. The Iroquois Confederacy has been damned for this upheaval but should not receive all the blame. Culpability can be shared by the Europeans whose presence and entrepreneurial desires compelled the Iroquois to seek refuge in the Great Lakes. Whatever regional rancor existed among native American nations in the Great Lakes area became subordinate to self-protection from armed aggression. Tribes located there in the 1600s and 1700s probably were exiles from their homelands.

When French explorer Jean Nicolet reached the Great Lakes in 1634, he found few villages containing only one ethnic group. For self-preservation, if no other reason, villages were inhabited by several nations. Though the French often referred to an Indian settlement as being associated with one particular tribe, it is likely that the occupants were from different strains or spoke different dialects. Sometimes tribes occupying one camp were subtribes of the same dominant nation. Indian nations with common backgrounds joined together. As disease (most frequently, smallpox and measles), war and drought reduced their numbers, tribes with uniquely different backgrounds shared common sites. Village sharing resulted in intermarriage, a practice often encouraged. By the late 18th Century, few "pure" nations existed.

In the late 1600s, fishing became more dependable than agriculture. Meat was a subordinate, though necessary, food source. Before 1700, game depletion around large Indian refugee centers was significant. The buffalo population discernably diminished. Beaver, prized for its meat and pelts, began to disappear. The Iroquois accused the Illinois of butchering too many beavers and failing to leave breeding stock.

Cessation of The Iroquois Wars in 1701 enabled northern Algonquians to move to more moderate climates. The French followed. The Wabash River Valley was one of those destinations. Known by the

French for at least thirty years but visited only by the *coureur de bois* and an occasional missionary, the area became a significant component of American history.

The French understood the Indians better than other European ethnic groups. The west was foreign to caucasian women when France first occupied it. The Dutch, Spanish and English on the eastern North American coast brought consorts with them but white women were novelties west of the Alleghenies until the 1730s. Pierre Charles LaSeuer's wife's arrival at Fort Saint Louis on the Illinois River in the 1690s created such a stir that she reluctantly consented to a public display.

French men – except Jesuit priests who sought to restrict "irregular" behavior – actively sought Indian women as sexual companions. Mores varied from nation to nation. The Jesuits' presence initially imposed obstacles on aberrent French behavior. Eventually, however, Indian women influenced by a reduced sex ratio caused by warfare, offered work and sexual companionship to *coureur de bois* and soldiers.

The Jesuits' campaign against polygamy increased the number of Algonquian women who fraternized with the French. Beginning in 1690, marriages between French men and Indian women accelerated significantly. Marriage improved the French understanding the natives and, by 1700, such unions were encouraged by commanders like Henry de Tonti, Francois Daupin de la Forest, known as Tonti, and Antoine Laumet de LaMothe, Sieur de Cadillac, known as Cadillac. Between 1704 and 1713, 18 of the 21 baptisms at French Kaskaskia were the offspring of French men and Indian women.

The increase of French-Indian marriages caused concern in France's political and ecclesiastical circles in 1730. Though the Jesuits conceded that intermarriage was undesirable, the alternative was unacceptable. Legitimate children of French-Indian marriages usually became French in attitude, culture and loyalty. Illegitimate children were destined to remain among their mother's people. Both results initiated ties that otherwise might not exist but the preference was clear.

B. The Indian nations of the Wabash Valley

The following native American nations had a significant impact on the Wabash River valley. A few nations which had influence are omitted if their effect was indistinct or resulted only from an subordinate association with another nation. Throughout this discussion it must be remembered that the native Americans' concept of land was completely different than the European view. Land, like water and air, was available on the basis of need. Ownership of such a precious commodity was totally foreign to their creed.

ILLINOIS

When France infiltrated into the midwest, the area bounded by Iowa, western Indiana and northeastern Arkansas was occupied by several Algonquin tribes referred to collectively as "The Illinois." The French referred to the area as "The Illinois Country." Some historians have referred to the combined tribes as "The Illinois Confederacy" though it never was organized as was five (then six) nations of The Iroquois Confederacy of upstate New York.

Most Illinois tribes were linguistically related to neighboring Algonquin nations like the Miamis, the Foxes, the Sauks, the Kickapoos, the Mascoutens, the Shawnees and the Potawatomis. Nevertheless, there was a division among them based upon traditional distrust. Enemies included the Pawnee, the Arikara, the Osage and the Pawnee to the west and the Chiwere Sioux to the northwest.

One tribe considered a part of the Illinois, the Michigamea, spoke a southern dialect before arriving in The Illinois Country in the Seventeenth Century. Nations residing at Cahokia, Kaskaskia and Peoria during European contact were two of the many Illinois tribes.

Though the territory west of the Wabash River to the Mississippi River was part of The Illinois Country, the Illinois Indians did not claim it all. They asserted that the eastern boundary to that rightfully theirs was the ridge which divided waters flowing into the Illinois River from waters which flowed into the Wabash River. The same ridge was the western limit of the country claimed by various Miami nations.

Unlike most other nations in the Great Lakes area at the time of European contact, the Illinois did not use canoes. In the 1600s, several Illinois villages were attacked from the east by the Iroquois and from the west by the Sioux, reducing the number substantially. From the establishment of a French Jesuit mission at Saint Espirit on Chequamegon Bay in Lake Superior, the Illinois was one nation which seemed to immediately to look to the French, with a sense of honor, for protection.

With a few exceptions, the Illinois' influence on the Wabash River Valley was incidental to its relationship with the French at posts along the Mississippi River. Those posts were in constant communication with posts to the east, including those on the Wabash. The Illinois became a catalyst for the Fox Wars in the early 18th Century. In 1752, some Cahokias, an Illinois tribe, moved to the Wabash River to associate with nations sympathetic to the British and to avoid the Fox.

Tradition holds that a great battle involving the Illinois Indians took place at the site where Fort Harrison was built in October, 1811, by Americans. The battle occurred "about a century" before the stockade was occupied. In fact, William Henry Harrison called the encampment, *Camp Battalle des Illinois*, until it was christened on October 28. Research prompts this writer to conclude that a great battle, which occurred September 9, 1730 between French and Illinois allies against the Fox Indians, may have occurred near the eventual site of Fort Harrison. Coordinates proffered by French reports offer a basis for the conclusion. The tradition is merely icing.

Since neither French nor Indian tradition identify the Illinois' adversaries in *battalle des illinois*, a full discussion of the tradition, though interesting, is not pertinent here. The legend offers that the battle began at sunrise, a fact suggested by French accounts of the 1730 confrontation. It also refers to 1000 warriors participating on each side. French reports recount that the Fox had over 1000 persons, including women and children. The size of the French-Indian force is not enumerated. French summaries state that between 850 and 1450 French and Indians surrounded a Fox fort during a lengthy siege but contend that some Indians abandoned the siege and insinuate that the French did not participate heavily in the battle.

Little serious research has been pursued as to when *Battalle des Illinois* took place. Historians addressing the subject seem to accept it as a "tradition" about which nothing "historical" can be determined. Bert Anson, an authority on the Miami Indians, speculated that the battle at the present site of Terre Haute may have occurred in 1680 between the Illinois, the Miami and the Iroquois. The Iroquois invaded the Tamaroa tribe of the Illinois near Cahokia (east of St. Louis) in 1680. Local historian Dorothy Clark does not cite Anson but appears to adopt his conjecture. Sensational 19th century author Josiah Priest suggested, in 1833, the battle took place in "about 1701." Yet, no one has proposed specific information which would conclude that a battle took place near Terre Haute in either 1680 or 1701.

French documents describe a Iroquois attack in 1655 at a Tamaroa Illinois village "somewhere in The Illinois Country;" however, a precise location of that attack is unclear. Somewhere along the Illinois or Mississippi rivers is a logical situs since that was where the Tamaroas were located.

The battle of September 9, 1730, involving virtually the entire Fox Indian nation against French-

Indian allies – including Illinois Indians – had a profound impact on the entire western country. Whether it was *Battalle des Illinois* is, of course, speculative at best; however, the conclusion is founded upon fact derived from original source documents ignored by most other hypotheses.

This writer is not the only person to inquire into the location of the 1730 battle. Over 140 years, no less than 14 historians (and many archaeologists) have studied the available, translated reports and maps of the battle. Each has concluded that the warfare took place in a different place. All have concluded that the battle occurred in the present State of Illinois. It is not surprising, then, that most historians who have studied the battle hail from Illinois.

Francis Parkman published information about the battle without considerable detail. Reuben Gold Thwaites found additional material and included campaign reports in his many translations of French occupancy material. Thwaites is known for his translation and publication of 73 volumes of Jesuit Relations; he also published several other volumes of translations while serving as secretary for the Wisconsin Historical Society. Based upon those translations (or, more correctly, in spite of them) as well as other presumptions, historians have concluded that the battle occurred on a tributary of either the Illinois, Sangamon, Iroquois, Kankakee or Big Vermillion rivers.

A few years ago, Indiana University (at South Bend) professor, Dr. Joseph Peyser, while at the Archives Nationales in Paris, France, searching for and translating historical documents regarding the two French forts named "Fort St. Josephs" in Michigan, discovered previously a unpublished account. That document, and Peyser's interpretation of an existing map, irrefutably divulge that the Fox fort under siege by French-Indian forces for nearly a month prior to the September 9, 1730 battle, was located on a tributary of the Wabash River.

This disclosure effectively eliminates from consideration 11 of 12 hypothetical sites previously assigned by historians. The Big Vermilion River, one of the proposed choices, is a tributary of the Wabash.

In 1980, before Peyser found the latest documents, he tediously summarized the conclusions of prior researchers as to the location of the fort in an article published in the *Illinois Historical Journal*:

1865	Jean Baptiste Antoine Ferland	Putnam County, IL
1895	John Nelson Davidson	LaSalle County, IL
1902	John Francis Steward	Kendall County, IL
1908	Hiram W. Beckwith	McLean County, IL
1909	Walter Bond Douglas	LaSalle County, IL
1925	Louis Phelps Kellogg	Champaign County, IL
1932	Charles Oscar Paullin	Kendall County, IL
1933	Stanley Faye	LaSalle County, IL
1936	William B. Brigham	McLean County, IL
1956	Illinois Department of Conservation, Division of Parks & Memorials	Vermilion County, IL
1958	J. Joe Bauxar	McLean County, IL
1966	Wayne C. Temple	Livingston County, IL

The above studies, in most instances, are scholarly. Documents are cited which assist the researcher. However, the conclusions drawn defy analysis if you pay attention to distances and directions in the source material. Putnam County, for instance, is southWEST of Le Rocher. Kendall County is NORTHEAST of Le Rocher. LaSalle, McLean and Livingston counties meet at least the "southeast" criteria but otherwise are wanting. The choices, except for Vermilion County, Illinois, are wrong if the distances and coordinates reported mean anything at all. That includes Arrowsmith, Illinois, the site of continuous digging to find the celebrated Fox fort for at least two decades. After Peyser's new documents were published, archaeologists at Arrowsmith still were convinced that they had "found the 1730 Fox fort."

Before Dr. Peyser's discovery, there were ample grounds for placing the Fox fort site, as well as the September 9, 1730 battle, in Indiana. The distance coordinates offered in narratives – though approximate and in French leagues – locate the besieged Fox fort as being between 121 and 138 miles southeast of Starved Rock. The first published accounts also pinpoint the battle as taking place between 145 and 165 miles ("60 leagues") south of the southernmost extremity, or "foot," of Lake Michigan. Those distances and descriptions could place the Fox fort site and the battlesite in the present state of Indiana. In fact, strictly interpreted, they demand that the battle site be located in the Hoosier state.

The French word, "lieue," when characterizing a distance, means "league." A French post league was 2.42 English miles long. The French common league was 2.76 miles long. The French marine league was 3.45 English miles long. It is frequently difficult to determine which league is being used in the narratives. Inaccurate mapping induced distances to vary greatly in the 17th and 18th centuries.

In 1731, Gilles Hocquart, the temporary Intendant of New France (Canada), wrote to the French Minister:

> "I have no doubt, Monseigneur, that you have learned, by way of the Mississippi of the defeat of the Renard [Fox] savages that happened on September 9th last, in a Plain situated between the River Wabache [Wabash] and the River of the illinois, About 60 Leagues south of The Extremity or foot of Lake Michigan, to the East South East of le Rocher ["The Rock"] in the Illinois Country. 150 French both from Louisiana and from Canada, and many savage Tribes, to the number of 8 or 900 men, stopped them, blockaded them in their fort and compelled them to issue from it through press of hunger; And they pursued them, killing 200 warriors; 200 women or Children met the same fate, and the remainder to the number of 4 or 500, also women and Children, were made slaves and scattered among the Nations. Messieurs de Villers, the Commandant at the River St. Joseph; des Noyelles, the commandant among the Miamis; and Messieurs de St. Ange, Officers in Louisiana, behaved with all the bravery and Prudence that could be expected of Them . . . ."

Louis Coulon de Villiers, commandant at Fort St. Joseph and one of the leaders in the battle, gave a lengthy report to Canadian governor Charles de la Boische Marquis de Beauharnois on September 23, 1730. His report included the following quotation:

> "The renards' [Fox] fort was in a small Grove of trees, on the bank of a little river running through a vast prairie, more than four leagues in circumference, without a tree, except Two groves about 60 arpents from one another. Monsieur [Robert Gorston] de St. Ange had camped with His savages on the left bank of the river and had built redoubts to prevent their obtaining Water, but they had excavated underground passages leading to the River."

Artistic representations of the Fox fort found in French and Canadian archives are significant contributions to research on its location. At least six such documents are known to have survived. An "official" battle map and the plan of the Fox fort are signed by Chaussegros de Lery, chief military engineer of New France. Lery's informants were Louis Coulon de Villiers, Lt. Nicolas-Antoine Coulon de Villiers, commandant of the fort on the St. Joseph's River (at present Niles, Michigan), and Jean-Baptiste Reaume, an interpreter.

One of those maps – "Blocus du Fort" [Blockade of the Fort] dated November 10, 1730 – describes the distance to Le Rocher from the Fox installation as "50 lieue" East-southeast "situated between the Illinois Rivers (sic) and the Wabash.)" The stream upon which the fort was located is described as "Petite Riviere Proche Celle de Mascopin." The map describes the battle as being "une journee de chemin du fort," or "one day's journey from the fort." A "Macopin" is an arrowleaf tree. The term could have been applied to virtually any stream in The Illinois Country at the time but was a secondary name for the Kankakee-Illinois in the early 18th Century. Upon that basis, one historian concluded that the fort was located on the Kankakee River in northern Illinois.

Peyser's discovery in Paris of additional maps of the siege adds to the intrigue. Both appear to have been drawn by participants from the Fort St. Joseph army under Louis Coulon de Villiers. One is entitled "Fort des Renards" [Fox Fort] and the other "Sauvages Renards attaques dans leur fort par les Francois du Canada et de la Louisianne en Septembre 1730." [Fox Indians attacked in their fort by the French of Canada and Louisiana in September, 1730] "Fort des Renards" is undated and, though containing new (and sometimes contradictory) details regarding the size and position of the French-Indian forces, the fortifications and the terrain, does not contribute to the geographic location of the fort.

"Sauvages Renards attaques" identifies the stream upon which the fort was located as "Riviere des Renards" [River of the Foxes] and the "Beiseipe River," which flows into the "Mabichi River." According to the "Sauvages Renards Attaques" map legend, the rivers reach as far as "40 lieue" (97 miles) to the southeast of Starved Rock. If the translation above is correct, the river upon which the fort is located may extend to a point within 100 miles of Le Rocher; it does not require that the fort be located at the terminus of that branch. "Sauvages Renards Attaques" confirms that there is a junction of the stream upon which the fort was located with another stream on the west. The inscription on the east branch of the creek unequivocally states: "This river flows into the Great Wabash River."

The legend is critical for at least two reasons. Not only does it describe the source of the tributary but it clarifies previous confusion on the direction of the flow of the river. Some historians have argued that the direction of the stream was west," not east. Dr. Peyser correctly concludes that "all previous proposed sites" must be ruled out.

One battle report asserts that the battle was fought "sur les terres de la Louisianne par les Illinois et les nations des frontieres du Canada," or on the boundary line between the land of Louisiana and the land of Canada.

The unofficial boundary between the two colonies was "terre haute of the Ouabache."

Another report, found by Dr. Peyser, "retained the expressions" of either Jean-Baptiste Reaume or Simon Reaume, participants in the battle, and contains details omitted in previous reports. The Reuame narrative hardly damages the case for *Battalle des Illinois* being the Fox Indian battle but it spots the Fox fort – a day's journey from the battlesite – as being "50 leagues southeast of LeRocher."

Past studies seem to want to ignore that there were two locations identified in the narratives: the fort and the battle. The chronicles, and at least one map, indicate that the battle occurred "a day's journey" or at least eight leagues (about 20 miles) from the fort. The Fox found a crease in the attackers' defense during a dense fog and tried to escape. Sobbing children alerted the enemy during the breakout.

The Fox nation, at the time of French contact, called themselves the Mesquakie, "People of the Red Earth" and, even today, has an oral tradition regarding the battle. It adds little detail to the location though it asserts that the fort was located "in Illinois," which, of course, meant "The Illinois Country." The Wabash River was the eastern boundary of The Illinois Country. It is likely that the fort was on a western tributary of the Wabash. Fox folklore describes a "drummer" named Mamasa who, on the night of the escape from the encircled fort,"helped put the enemy to sleep." The legend describes how messengers created the rain, instead of fog, by "dipping the sacred wolf skin" into river water instead of merely skimming the surface. It also recounts how, during the flight, two throngs of escapees lost each other.

Since last century, Illinois archaeologists have pursued the location of the fort and its "adjoining battlesite" within that state's boundaries. Since at least 1897, a large site near Arrowsmith, Illinois, on the Sangamon River in McLean County, has been a target. Excavations continue at a site which, from all objective indications, was the site of a major armed conflict. Nothing in this presentation would argue against continuing that effort. Something worth finding has been unearthed. Two questions remain: Have they found the 1730 Fox fort? Have they found the September 9, 1730 battlesite?

This presentation may not compel a scholar to conclude that *Battalle des Illinois* was the September 9, 1730 battle between French-Indian allies and the Fox nation. Yet, there is less compelling evidence from the source documents that the battle took place at most prior sites suggested. The Big Vermillion River is an exception. It it a likely location of the Fox fort. Even if French tradition did not suggest that a battle involving the Illinois Indians took place on the Fort Harrison prairie at some earlier time, the distances and directions offered in narratives should cause interested historians to first examine sites consistent with them.

MIAMI

The Miami nation had an immense influence on the entire State of Indiana. Yet its genesis and emergence in this state is confusing. Though Miamis were situated in Wisconsin and Michigan at the time of European contact and were said to be related, at one time, to the Illinois, the nation dispersed. In the late 1600s, the French in that area identified a specific branch of the Miamis as the "Ouiatanons," or "Weas," while another branch was using the "Miami" name.

The branch of the Miami nation which located on the Maumee River near present day Fort Wayne at the village of Kikakon or Kiskakon (later corrupted and called Kekionga), maintained the name, "Miami." Portions of that cluster later moved west along the Wabash to Mississinewa and Kenapacomaqua. Another Miami branch, which located between Terre Haute and Lafayette, was called the Ouiatanon, or Wea. A third branch, which eventually located between Vincennes and Terre Haute and on the Big Vermillion River in Vermillion County, Indiana, was called the "Piankeshaw." The Piankeshaws, under several spellings, also were identified separately in early Wisconsin and maintained a separate identity for well over a century. A fourth Miami subtribe, the Petikokias, seems to have been absorbed by other villages.

Though "cousins," the three surviving Miami "tribes" developed distinct political identities and, for many purposes, can be considered distinct groups; there were frequent intertribal differences.

The Weas may have located on the Wabash as early as 1690 but mention of them in the Wabash

River valley does not surface until 1714. By that time they had leverage in French-Indian relations and had several villages on the Wabash River's eastern bank. The French needed the Ouiatanons' support in schemes against the Fox, already a dreaded enemy. Meanwhile, the Miamis of the Maumee were becoming subservient to a man named Vincennes. The Weas and Piankeshaws of the Wabash and the Miamis of the Maumee were victims of an epidemic in 1732. Though small pox was suspected, Dr. Peyser has discovered documents in France which lead him to conclude the Indians were intentionally poisoned by the French.

The Miamis and the Weas avoided involvement in French trysts against the Fox, leaving the Illinois tribes (with assistance from the French forces) to do battle by themselves against the Fox and their associates, the Kickapoos, the Mascoutens and, sometimes, the Sauk. On the other hand, they jointly participated in attacks on the Chicakasaws after Francois-Marie Vincennes was killed in 1736. Nevertheless, the Weas of the Wabash and the Miamis of the Maumee were not always friendly. A major incident occurred in 1740 when La Peau Blanche, a Wea, killed a Miami who consorted with the British. War between the two subtribes would have erupted without substantial French intervention.

In 1747, a Miami chief respected by the French, Le Pied Froid (also known as Wisekaukautshe by the Indians and "Coldfoot" by the English), headed Kiskakon, a large village (or group of villages) near present day Fort Wayne, then called "Fort Miamis." Le Pied Froid is identified as a chief who fled Kiskakon with his people to avoid the "small pox" epidemic of 1732-1733. A war chief there was Le Porc Epic ("Hedgehog"). One of Le Porc Epic's warriors, La Demoiselle (the term means "Young Woman" in English but few called him that; it is reported that he earned the name because of his propensity to entail ornaments in his dress) was a Piankeshaw who married a Miami woman. Though his ancestry is not clear from source material, the English called La Demoiselle, "King."

At the same time, Le Jarret headed the Miamis at a joint village on the upper Tippecanoe River called Tepicon. Le Jarret was murdered in 1749 and his stepson, Le Gris (sometimes called "Le Grue" -- also the name of a Potawatomi chief -- and "Le Gro" by some narratives, "Atchatchakangouen" by the Indians and "Sandhill Crane by the British") was placed in charge of the village. This may have been a nominal appointment; the real leader may have been Le Gris's mother. Miami legend relates that Le Gris was a survivor of an epidemic that had virtually destroyed Tepicon which, it appears, was a different "Tepicon" than the joint village occupied by Kickapoos, Mascoutens and Weas on the Wabash.

La Demoiselle sought power outside of the French-Indian alliance. Orontony, a Huron rebel sometimes called "Nicolas," offered him an alternative: a British-Iroquois-Wyandotte alliance. La Demoiselle's 1747 revolt against the French post at Fort Miamis created a chasm which had a deep, semi-permanent, impact upon French-Indian relations in the Wabash River Valley and, ultimately, caused France's downfall in spite of La Demoiselle's defeat and death at Pickawillany, Ohio in June, 1752.

Wea chiefs located in the Wabash River valley during this timeframe included Les Grands Ongles (Le Jarret's brother), La Mouche Noire (whose brothers were Kaskaskias), La Teste Blanche (or La Peau Blanche, perhaps two different chiefs), L'Homme Chef, Le Comte, Le Petite Jaretiere and Le Commis. L'Enfant and Le Gros Bled were prominent Piankeshaw chiefs antagonistic to the French. La Biche, sometimes called "La Petite Biche," was a Piankeshaw believed to be sympathetic to the French. Le Loup was another Piankeshaw chief. He had been raised as a Kickapoo and had a nephew, Le Chat Blanc, who was a Sauk chief. Le Maringouin, who headed a village at the mouth of the Big Vermillion River, occasionally was called a Piankeshaw but probably was a Mascouten.

Dissatisfaction with English policies after 1763 brought the Miamis within Pontiac's rebellious movement. Yet, the Miamis also fought as English allies during the Revolution. Under war chief Little Turtle, they had considerable military success through 1791. Once defeated, however, the Miamis of the Maumee accepted American regulation. Some, but not all, Weas joined them. Crooked Legs, a Wea chief at Terre Haute, was unpredictable. The Piankeshaws generally sided with the Americans.

The Piankeshaw gained identity apart from the Miami nation in Wisconsin though some historians have asserted that the Piankeshaws were once a part of the Wea. They were found on both sides of the Wabash River from the Big Vermilion River to the Ohio. Both the Ouiatanons (Weas) and the Piankeshaws were residents of the lower Wabash River Valley from the early 1700s through 1830. Chippecoke, a Piankeshaw town in the early 18th Century, has been identified with present Vincennes; the area between Vincennes and Terre Haute, including all of present Sullivan County, was called the "Piankeshaw Hunting Ground." Piankeshaws on the southern Wabash were hit by small pox epidemic in 1787.

Early in the 19th Century, several Wea chiefs emerged as antagonistic to Americans, particularly Sonomahougy (Negro Legs) and Stone Eater, warriors who headed villages near Terre Haute. Both participated in the siege at Fort Harrison from September 4 to September 16, 1812. The Weas had at least three villages with specific names in present Vigo County after the construction of Fort Harrison: *Ouiaton*, *Upper Wea Town* and *Kekequa*. There may have been others. *Old Orchard Town*, *Jocco's Town*, *Lower Wea Town* and *We-au-te-non* are mentioned but may be duplicitous.

Christmas Dagenet, also called Christmas "Dazney," a French-Indian halfbreed born at Ouiaton on December 25, 1799, was friendly to Americans and was prominent here into the early 1820s. His father was the established French fur trader Ambrose Dagenet who married a Wea named Jocco. Dagenet's residency continued in Parke County, Indiana, where he was associated with a Wea Reservation on Sugar Creek, some time after his nation emigrated to Kansas. Later, he joined the tribe and his wife, a Brothertown Indian, and their son became national leaders in Indian affairs.

KICKAPOO

The Kickapoos were among the early native American Indians identified by French explorers traveling through the Great Lakes in 1640. Jesuit priest Claude-Jean Allouez located the tribe near the portage of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers in 1667, about 12 miles south of a mixed village of Mascoutens, Miamis and Weas, near present Alloa, Wisconsin.

The Kickapoo had linguistic ties with the Shawnee from whom they separated, according to tradition, after a quarrel over a bear's foot. Later, Vermilion and Wabash Kickapoos developed ties with the Potawatomis and, through the Mascoutens, with the Miamis of the Maumee. In the early 19th Century, the Kickapoos and the Weas on the Wabash fraternized.

Though the Jesuits established missions near them in 1672, the Kickapoos were not subject to conversion like many other nations; they were loyal to pagan gods and so mobile that they were not available for regular preaching. At times their contempt was visible as when, for example in 1680, a Kickapoo raiding party mutilated and scalped a Recollect priest near Peoria.

At first blush, the Kickapoos seemed friendly though shy. Later, timidity was discerned to be aloofness and contempt. The Kickapoos blamed the French for Iroquois and Sioux invasions. The Kickapoos eventually sought and received French aid; however, they also sought revenge against raiding nations and the French would placate them. In 1684, the Kickapoos formed an coalition with Mascoutens and Foxes to carry on an offensive against the Iroquois and Sioux. Francis Parkman said that the alliance was seized with "homicidal fury."

In the middle 1680s, the French located Kickapoo-Mascouten villages in the vicinity of the Fox-Wisconsin portage, on Lake Winnebago and on the Milwaukee River. Henri de Tonti, in a March 8, 1688 report, placed one Kickapoo-Mascouten village 200 leagues from the mouth of the Illinois River and 200 leagues from the Falls of St. Anthony.

The exodus of Kickapoo from Wisconsin began prior to 1700 yet they retained northern alliances and were part of a Fox plot to burn Detroit in 1712. According to a 1695 report, the Foxes were aligned with the Mascoutens and the Kickapoos but planned to leave northern Wisconsin to form a settlement on the Wabash River where they would join with the Mascoutens and the Kickapoos, already occupants. "Should this project be realized, it is very apparent that the Mascoutin and Kekapou would be of the party, and that the three Tribes, forming a new village of fourteen or fifteen hundred men, would experience no difficulty in considerably increasing it, by attracting other nations thither, which would be of most pernicious consequence."

Prior to 1730, Kickapoos began catering to the French and joined them in the September 9, 1730 siege against the Fox. After the battle, the Kickapoo acted ambiguously and remained remarkably independent of European influence for a considerable period. The nation was very active in the lower Wabash River Valley from at least 1735, if not before, through 1815. A joint Kickapoo-Mascouten village called Tepicon was located on the Wabash River, perhaps near Lafayette, as early as 1735. It was associated with villages of other nations; the joint community also was called "Tepicon." The Kickapoos joined with others nations to extract revenge against the Chickasaws for the murder of Vincennes from 1730 to 1750.

In the 1740s and early 1750s, the Kickapoos and Mascoutens shared villages near present day Terre Haute. A leading Kickapoo chief in this period, Mainobway (also referred to as "Mainomba," "Mahinamba" and "Mainobas") headed a village on the west bank of the Wabash River in present Vigo County. There were other significant Kickapoo chiefs located at or near Terre Haute in those two decades, including Deux Visages Plats and Le Petit Bonheur. Le Loup was a Kickapoo but his mother was a Mascouten and he commanded the respect of the Piankeshaw. During 1751 and 1752, the French tried to relocate the "Kickapoos of Terre Haute" closer to Vincennes due to the Piankeshaws' unreliability.

During the mid-1700s, the Kickapoos split, some establishing headquarters near in the Rock River in northern Illinois, others locating near Peoria and some remaining on the Wabash. By that time, The Illinois Confederacy ceased to exist and the Kickapoo factions were give separate names: Prairie Kickapoo in central and northern Illinois (from the Sangamon River to Lake Peoria) and the Woodland or Vermilion Kickapoo along western Wabash River tributaries. The latter branch apparently eventually absorbed the Mascoutens. Occasionally the various groups coordinated their policies but, at other times, they took divergent political views. Each negotiated seperate treaties with the Americans.

During the French and Indian War, the Vermilion Kickapoos were dependable French allies. They continued to aid the French against the Chickasaws, who became English allies. When France was forced to withdraw from Wabash River Valley, one Kickapoo group moved to the lower Missouri River from 1763 to 1765 to support Spain against the British. All Kickapoo branches generally supported Pontiac's efforts. During the Revolution, the Kickapoos formed a quasi-alliance with Americans living near the lower Wabash River. After the war, they realized that the Americans also had designs on Indian land and felt betrayed.

Between 1788 and 1796, Kickapoo raiding parties caused havoc to villages in Indiana, Illinois and even Kentucky. The Kickapoos were frequently accompanied by the Potawatomies and both tribes developed predatory reputations. They were victims of a small pox epidemic here in 1800 and 1801.

The most thrilling narrative by an Indian capture involving Wabash River Indians was published by William Biggs in 1826. The 22-page report describes his capture and the mortal wounding of his companion, John Vallis, by a raiding party consisting of 15 Kickapoos and one Potawatomi, near Belle Fountain, Illinois on March 28, 1788:

> "There were but four Indians that gave me chase, they were all naked except their Breachcloth, Leggings and Mocosins. They began to talk to me in their own language, and said they were Kickapoos, that they were very good Indians, and I need not be afraid they would not hurt me, and that I was now Kickapoo and must go with them, they would take me to the Matocush, meaning a French trading town on the Wabash River."

The trip from the point of capture to the Kickapoos' Wabash River town took ten remarkable days, providing for a four-hour stop at a hunting camp. After meeting several Indians, Biggs was taken to a "Sugar Camp, where they had made sugar that spring, on the west bank of the Wabash, about ten miles below the old Kickapoo's trading town, opposite to the Weawes (sic) town."

Except for some rough treatment at the time of capture and hunger en route, Biggs was treated well. He met several traders, some of whom he knew from experiences at Cahokia and Kaskaskia. He also met a 19-year old man who had been captured 18 months before, Nicholas Coonse. The pair shared a cabin. A young squaw offered to marry Biggs and stayed by the door to his cabin for two days and three nights. Her adoration apparently remained unrequited though she "was a very handsome girl, about 18 years of age, a beautiful full figure, and handsomely featured and very white for a squaw." Biggs was accepted as member of the village and was given the name, "Mohcossea."

Reference was made in Biggs' conversations to Post Vincennes and "Opost" where, several weeks later, he was taken by a French family, "Mr. Pyatt" and his wife of Vincennes, who moved near the Kickapoo town to trade during the winter. Biggs traveled down the Wabash by pirougue to Vincennes with a "Mrs. Duff" and, then, accompanied by "Mr. Duff and the Moredock family," boated to Kaskaskia.

The Kickapoos' long domicile often is disregarded. They played an important part in the War of 1812. Still stinging from the Americans' betrayal, Vermilion Kickapoo endorsed Tecumseh and raided American settlements in Illinois. Villages on the Vermilion River were active including one headed by Little Deer who joined a pro-British alliance during the conflict. Kickapoo leaders Pakoisheecan and Mahtomba, also known as Joe Lennar or Jose Lennar (Renard "the Fox"), spearheaded the attack on Fort Harrison near present Terre Haute on September 4, 1812. In 1819, the Kickapoos ceded their tribal estate in a treaty negotiated at Fort Harrison but Little Duck continued to maintain a village on the Wabash near Attica.

In the early 1800s, the itinerant Kickapoo nation split even further. A large segment moved to southwest Missouri. Another band stayed in Illinois and joined the Sauk faction led by Black Hawk from 1829 to 1832. Kickapoo villages were located immediately west of Darwin, Illinois and near Vandalia. Another band of 350 stayed on the Vermilion River under the guidance of the religious prophet, Kennekuk, a reformed alcoholic. Kenekuk's followers did not join the others west of the Mississippi until 1834.

MASCOUTEN

The Mascouten was a prominent nation in the lower Michigan and the southern Wisconsin area at the time of first French contact. A Huron Indian map prepared in the 1630s locates Mascoutens between Saginaw Bay and Lake Erie at a village called Attistaehronon. They also had a large village on the Fox River in Wisconsin in the 1660s, perhaps moving there because of Iroquois invasions. In 1666, the Mascoutens had a joint village with Kickapoos, Miamis and a few Illinois 70 miles from Green Bay on the upper Fox River in Wisconsin.

Father Claude-Jean Allouez visited a Mascouten village on a Wisconsin prairie in 1670 and reported that it was known by the Hurons as the "Nation of Fire." The Old Man of the village advised Allouez that the village was being attacked regularly by the Iroquois and the Sioux and the villagers were praying for relief from a disease that was killing their children. At the time, the Mascouten nation catered to the French in a manner similar to the Illinois and purportedly consisted of 1,500 people.

In 1671, Jesuit missionaries led by Father Claude Dablon visited a joint village of 3000 Mascoutens and Miamis, acting in common defense against the Iroquois, on the upper Fox River. This village, located near present Berlin, Wisconsin, may have lasted until 1689 but at least until 1679. Dablon noted that some Illinois had come to live near the village to share the protection offered. In May, 1672, Allouez found about 200 cabins, "representing five tribes," at a Mascouten village on the upper Fox River. The Indians were receptive to his teachings and ritual. Allouez ultimately founded a mission for Mascoutens at De Pere Rapids called St. Francois Xavier during the winter of 1691-1692.

When, on April 6, 1676, Father Antoine Silvy visited a Mascouten village to aid Father Allouez, he found 36 adult Christians and 126 baptized children. The Indians there were mesmerized by Catholicism "as if possessed." In 1679, Father Jean Enjalran, later superior of the Jesuit missions in the Northwest, reported that "Allouez and Silvy have ministered in the Outagamie (Fox) and Mascouten villages which, including refugees from other tribes, number at least 20,000 souls."

Between 1679 and 1681, however, something happened. Some Miami, Kickapoo and Mascouten abandoned Wisconsin and moved to the St. Joseph River in lower Michigan and northern Indiana "because the men who served the Religious (Jesuits) had been assassinated." During this period, Kickapoos had murdered a Recollect pries near Peoria. The Iroquois continued to cause havoc, too, kidnapping 50 Mascouten warriors during the summer of 1683 at a village 19 miles northwest of Chicago.

In 1688, the Mascoutens affiliated with the Fox and tried to coddle the Iroquois. One instance is cited where Mascoutens and Foxes returned to the Iroquois five chiefs which had been captured by the Weas of Chicago in a raid against the Illinois. The Weas expected the Foxes and Mascoutens to cannibalize the dreaded Iroquois but, in order to gain favor, the captors chose to cater to them.

In late 1702 and early 1703, about 80 lodges of Mascoutens moved to southern Illinois near the tannery on the Ohio River in Pulaski County, Illinois founded by Charles Juchereau de St. Denis and some Canadians on November 8, 1702. More than half were killed by a smallpox epidemic in 1703. Both the French and the Indians referred to its location as being "on the Ouabache," i.e., that stretch of the Ohio between its confluence with the Wabash to the east and the Mississippi to the west. Early Vincennes historians inaccurately concluded the tannery must have been located at present day Vincennes. It was not until well into this century that the confusion was clarified. Juchereau died in 1704 and the tannery was closed in 1705. The remaining Mascoutens withdrew to both sides of the lower Wabash, north of the Piankeshaws. In succeeding years, northern Indiana Mascoutens joined them.

The Mascoutens were still aligned with the Fox in 1712 when the latter – together with some

Kickapoos – spearheaded an attack on Fort Detroit lead by their chief, Pemoussa. The French retaliated and defeated the assailants at Presque Isle. After this defeat, a few Mascoutens joined the Kickapoos and the Foxes in northwestern Illinois, between Rock River and the Mississippi, and caused havoc on the Illinois.

In 1720, some Mascoutens settled near the Potawatomi on the St. Joseph's River in northern Indiana to avoid hostilities created by the Fox. The majority, however, became strongly united with the Kickapoos and the two nations soon settled on the southern Wabash near the Weas. A final contingent of eight lodges joined them there in 1741. Some historians believe this contingent was the final merger of the eastern (Indiana) Mascoutens and the western (Wisconsin and upper Illinois) Mascoutens. As late as 1712, the Mascoutens were said not to use canoes but, by 1728, they were using them.

In 1746 and 1747, the Mascoutens joined the Kickapoos to support the French against the Chickasaw forays but increasing British influence kept them relatively independent. Prominent chiefs during this period located on the Wabash and Vermillion Rivers near Terre Haute included Ouachione, Le Temps Clair, Le Brave, Pacanne, La Mauvaise Jambe, La Noix, Le Maringouin, Sappingouate (son of Ouachione) and Mirraquoist. The Mascoutens were allied with the Potawatomis and the Kickapoos from 1751 to 1754 in hostilities with the Illinois Peorias. Unlike the Kickapoos, the independent Mascoutens refused to commit to the American cause during the American Revolution.

The Mascouten, unlike other Indian nations described herein, no longer maintains its separate identity, probably the result of merger with the Vermilion Kickapoo or the Piankeshaws. Like the Kickapoos, the Mascoutens were self-reliant, fierce and respected warriors. One old French map refers to the "Ancient Village of the Musquitons" and the "Fort of the Musquitons" in present day Vigo County. They were extremely influential and the territory in which they resided was referred to in documents as the "Prairie of the Mascouten."

A remnant band of Mascoutens, which may have resided at a village called "El Tander" on the Wabash, attended a council at Kaskaskia conducted by George Rogers Clark in 1778, intending to murder Clark. The plot was discovered and the Mascoutens were imprisoned. Instead of punishing them further, Clark brought the incarcerated Indians to his quarters daily where he cajoled them. Weeks later he agreed to release the warriors but humiliated them by removing their breechcloths "since they should be punished for impersonating men," gave them plenty of provisions "since women do not know how to hunt," and told them he would treat them for the remainder of their stay "like squaws." Instead of leaving Kaskaskia, the Mascoutens pleaded to be treated like warriors and join the American cause. Clark rejected the proposal but, in one of the great psychological ploys of the Revolution, eventually "relented." The last known assembly of Mascoutens became American allies.

FOX

At the time of French contact, the Fox and its "cousin nation," the Sauk, were the native American nations closest to believing in one God. Nonetheless, the Fox despised the beards of the Frenchmen. Still, the Foxes were friendly to Jesuit missionaries visiting them in the 1660s. Father Allouez reported a Fox village of over 1000 named Ouestatinong, 25 leagues from Green Bay.

The Fox and the Sauk had lingual and cultural similarities to the Kickapoo and the Mascouten. The Foxes adapted well from a pre-contact woodland environment to a prairie environment. Though the Fox resided in the Wisconsin area in the early 18th Century, it became a dreaded French enemy. The conflict between the French and the Fox, now commonly referred to as The Fox Wars, lasted about 40 years. A significant portion of the Fox nation was annihilated by a French-Indian force on September 9, 1730 after a 23-day siege which surrounded a Fox fortress of 111 cabins located on an unidentified tributary of the Wabash River. The Fox were attempting to avoid French annihilation by escaping through central Indiana to a sanctuary with the Iroquois. The battle is discussed elsewhere in this presentation.

According to French reports, only one Fox chief, Licacuois, survived the 1730 massacre. But the Fox were embarrassingly resilient and, through intermarrying, merger and the protection by the Sauks, became a new force to recognize. Humiliated by the persistence of a nation whose total destruction they had publicly announced, French authorities were determined to either eradicate the tribe or export it to the West Indies. Neither goal was achieved.

On June 1, 1752, an intertribal force led by Foxes attacked Cahokia and Michigamea Illinois villages on the east bank of the Mississippi, causing human devastation and massive destruction. There is credible evidence that the irascible French commander at Fort de Chartres, Macarty Mactigue, conspired with the Fox in response to strong rumor that the Illinois tribe intended to move to the Wabash River and align itself with tribes of English sympathizers. If true, Macarty's solicitation of the Fox probably was not an official French effort to gain their archenemy's favor. All those efforts previously had failed and the Fox eventually sought refuge in Iowa. Most descendants now reside at a settlement near Tama, Iowa.

SHAWNEE

The Shawnee language and ritual reflect a prehistoric relationship with the Fox and the Kickapoo. Its village organization pattern resembled the Illinois and the Miami. It also had historical associations with the Creeks, the Yuchis, the Cherokees and the Seneca tribe of the Iroquois. Archaeologists speculate the Shawnees were survivors of an Ohio River prehistoric culture known as "Fort Ancient." Though deemed a "southern tribe" at the time of first European contact, the Shawnees moved into northern Ohio and, then in the 1740s to avoid raids by the Iroquois, to southern Ohio and Indiana.

In the 1740s, a band of Shawnees led by half-breed Peter Chartier, the son of Martin Chartier who deserted LaSalle on January 6, 1680 at Starved Rock, located near Terre Haute in the "Prairie of the Mascoutens," at the implied insistence of the French Canadian government. Existing documents do not describe the length of Chartier's stay on the east side of the Wabash before moving south to a point near its confluence with the Ohio. This site is at present day Shawneetown, Illinois. The band's total residency on the Wabash lasted nearly three years. When the French failed to support his group, Chartier took it (and some other Shawnees) to join the Alibamous on the Tullahatchee River. The Wabash Indians, unhappy with Chartier's involvement in their territory, made several raids into Alabama in 1750 in retaliation.

Internal disruption plagued the Shawnee. A faction opposed to the Treaty of Greenville (OhiO) located on the Wabash River north of Lafayette in 1795. For a short time in the next decade, the village moved back to the area near Greenville but returned to the Tippecanoe River by 1808.

When Tecumseh and his brother, Elkswatawa or Tenkswatawa (The Shawnee Prophet), were striving to establish an Indian federation from 1808 to 1813, they made headquarters near the Tippecanoe River northeast Lafayette where Potawatomis and Weas had a village called Kethtippecanunk. Their followers were drawn from other Wabash tribes, none of which were Shawnee. Sauks and Winnebagoes from Wisconsin were among those attracted. The Shawnees in Ohio, however, refused to join the federation.

Tecumseh and the Shawnee Prophet were the leading inspirations for attacks on both Fort Harrison at Terre Haute and Fort Wayne in September, 1812. Tecumseh was respected and revered by Indians and even some Americans. A settlement on the west bank of the Wabash River in Vigo County is named after him. When Tecumseh was killed at the Battle of Thames in 1813, the strength of native America in the Great Lakes area died with him. The Prophet has been roundly criticized; however, the more one studies the Shawnees' influence over native Americans in the Northwest Territory, the easy it is to conclude that he often was a victim of circumstance and was not always as irrational as has been maintained.

POTAWATOMI

The Potawatomis, according to tradition, originally were affiliated with the Chippewa and Ottawa nations; the Delawares were their "grandfathers." In 1616, Champlain heard of a tribe called the Asistegueronon, meaning the "Race of Fire," living west of Lake Huron; it may have been the Potawatomi though the Mascoutens had a similar reputation; in fact, the two nations later interrelated. In the 1640s and continuing through the 1680s, the Potawatomis resided with the Sauks and the Menominees on the shores of Green Bay.

In the early years of European contact, the Potawatomis, though stubborn, were communicative with the French. Two years later, Father Jerome Lalemant reported that the nation had abandoned its home to move to Sault Ste. Marie. One Potawatomi village in that area, Otonatendia, was shared by some Mascoutens in 1654-1655. In 1679, Robert Cavalier, Sieur de LaSalle discovered Potawatomi Island, also called Washington Island, at the mouth of Green Bay and another Potawatomi village on the western shore of Lake Michigan.

Potawatomi chief Onanghisse was the prototype of a chief seeking to unify western Indian nations. In the early 1680s, Onanghisse led efforts to mediate an anti-French coalition with the Miami and the Illinois. When Iroquois invasions made that impractical, he became a leading figure in the birth of a French-Indian alliance. His influence remained substantial through The Iroquois Wars. In fact, his participation at the Peace Conference of 1701 at Green Bay, which ended those wars, was essential.

As early as 1702, a St. Joseph River village was named Winamac after the Potawatomi chief there. Much to everyone's confusion, the name continued to be used by Potawatomi chiefs in Indiana throughout the 19th Century. Leopold Pokagon, a late 18th Century Potawatomi chief, governed villages on the St. Joseph's River in Michigan (Terre Coupee, Parc aux Vaches) where, in 1695, at least 200 Potawatomis had located. Pokagon has a lake and state park named after him in near Angola in northern Indiana.

The Potawatomis impressed the French with their intelligence, generosity and civility at the time of first contact; however, they worshiped idols and practiced polygamy, habits bothersome to the Jesuit missionaries. The Potawatomis actively sought intermarriage with other tribes. Though Indiana residents for a long time, Potawatomis did not surface in the lower Wabash River Valley until the late 18th Century. By then, they had established at least one village on the Wabash River, at Kethtippecanunk near at the confluence with the Tippecanoe River.

By 1795, a Potawatomi named Keesass regularly required Americans to pay tribute to pass his village near the present site of Attica. Thereafter, Potawatomi chief Main Poc (sometimes spelled "Main Poche"), who became a disciple of the Shawnee Prophet, made frequent raids into western and southern Indiana.

The Potawatomis maintained strong French ties as long as France occupied the Northwest Territory. They fought with the British in the Revolution and the War of 1812. The Potawatomis were active around Fort Wayne and played a key role in the 1812 siege of that fort led by Metea, a chief who maintained a village near the nexus of the St. Joseph River and Cedar Creek.

In 1812, Potawatomis were accused of beastly behavior along the southern Wabash River. In September, they were pronounced responsible for the massacre of separate supply parties under Sergeant Nathan Fairbanks and Lieutenant Thomas H. Richardson headed to Fort Harrison to relieve soldiers under Captain Zachary Taylor from an Indian siege. In April of the same year, a Potawatomi raiding party was blamed for the massacre of the Isaac Hutson family near present-day Hutsonville, Illinois in Crawford County. Kickapoos also may have participated in those raids.

Shabbona, an Ottawa who married a Potawatomi, Canoku, was an active anti-American disciple until Tecumseh was killed at the Battle of Thames in 1813. Thereafter, he became a Potawatomi chief and urged his villagers to cooperate with the Americans. Subjected to intensive educational programs by Americans, the Potawatomi resisted and, in 1841, was subjected to mass removal to a reservation along the Osage River in Kansas in Indiana's most dramatic "Trail of Tears."

DELAWARE

The Delaware nation was called The Lenni Lenape or The Forks Indians. Traditional history of The Lenni Lenape purportedly is told by its national legend, the Walam Olum, a substantially mythical story. The Delaware was an Algonquin nation which lived in and near the state named after it. Its early eminent chief, Tamenend, was honored posthumously when The Tammany Society used his name. Between 1680 and 1720, the Iroquois began to assume dominion over the Delawares, which forced them to move west. By 1724, the Delaware nation was living along the Susquehanna and Allegheny Rivers.

In 1754, many Delawares relocated farther west and, for awhile, made headquarters on the Muskingum River in eastern Ohio. A newly acclaimed Delaware prophet, Neolin at Tuscarawas, was instrumental in Pontiac's uprising. At that time, the Munsee, the largest Delaware subgroup which spoke a dialect associated with its name, and the Mahicans still had separate identities. The Unami subgroup spoke a different language. Munsee-speaking tribes frequently were identified by the village name. In New England during an earlier period, the Mahicans may have been separate from the Delawares and as dominant in its homeland as the Iroquois. The Mahicans should not be confused with a separate nation known as the Mohegans in central Connecticut, the remnants of which became the Brothertown Indians described below.

Some Delawares, at the instance of the Miamis, adopted homes with Moravian missionaries and became known as the Moravian Delawares. Missionaries in Ohio and Indiana resulted in additional division of the nation and, perhaps, a joinder. In 1770, the Delawares sought and obtained permission from the Miamis and the Piankeshaws to locate on the west fork of the White River, a tributary of the Wabash, in central Indiana. Other villages were located on the Blue and Whitewater rivers in southern Indiana. As early as 1776, Welandwecken located his Delaware village near the forks of the White River. This village may have been the one attacked by George Rogers Clark after he recaptured Vincennes. Between 1795 and 1818, the Moravian Delawares had at least six villages in Indiana. One band of Munsees located their village at the site of an Indiana town which adopted their name. The Delawares moved from Indiana to southern Missouri following the Treaty of St. Marys in 1818.

WINNEBAGO

The Winnebagoes were known, at the time of first French contact in Wisconsin, as Puans or Stinkards. Tradition and solid archaeological evidence affirms that, around 1000 A.D., a Siouan cult intruded into southern Wisconsin, west of Lake Geneva. Evidently it was not welcome for the rectangular village in which it lived was surrounded on three sides by a palisade and watch-towers. The fourth side was protected by a river. The village included terraced temple platforms similar to the temple mounds found in Mexico, at Cahokia, Illinois and at Angel Mound in present Vanderburgh County, Indiana. Archaeologists have identified this cult – the Oneota culture of the upper Mississippian prehistoric tradition – as the immediate ancestor of the Winnebago. The culture was given the name "Aztalan," the name given to predecessors of the Aztec nation in Mexico.

Winnebagoes were the "masters of Green Bay" (The Bay of Puans) immediately prior to European contact. They also were identified as cannibals. After Winnebagoes cannibalized the Ottawas, other tribes near Green Bay joined forces with the Ottawas and warfare reduced the Winnebagoes from 6000 warriors to about 1500. The Illinois felt sorry for them and sent 500 warriors with supplies to help but the Winnebagoes, according to the reports, accepted the provisions and, after a feast, fell upon the Illinois supply party and annihilated them. The Illinois got revenge, according to the legend, killing all but one Winnebago. Hated by most Indian neighbors for their past bad deeds, the Winnebagoes sought and obtained protection from the French. By 1655, Winnebagoes in the Wisconsin area had been reduced to about 600 people with 150 warriors. Nevertheless, their prior potency engendered fear from former adversaries. They readily admitted the historic treacheries in discussions with the French.

Some Winnebagoes affiliated with Miami rebel La Demoiselle in the 1740s. Apart from that brief association, they had no known connection with the Wabash River until 1811 when a village was located at confluence of Wabash River and Wildcat Creek (also called Ponce Passu Creek) due to Tecumseh's influence. Structures in the village were totally destroyed by General Samuel Hopkins and a militia of 1250 from Fort Harrison in November, 1812 in revenge for the attack on Fort Harrison two and one-half months earlier. The village was unoccupied at the time of the attack and may have already had been abandoned.

OTTAWA

The Ottawa was one of the major tribes in Canada at the time of first French contact. Father Claude-Jean Allouez maintained a mission with them for over two years (1666-1669) but found them difficult to teach since they were "superstitious and thieves." Father Claude Dablon also had a mission with the Ottawas in 1669-1670. Until about 1700, Ottawas and Hurons often shared villages. Later, the Hurons moved to the vicinity of Detroit while the Ottawas remained on the western shore of Lake Huron and developed ties with the Potawatomis. Indian language experts suggest that the Ottawas may have maintained a village near present day Fort Wayne in the late 1600s or early 1700s since Kiskakon, the name of the first Miami village site there, is an Ottawa word for a "cut-tail bear."

In the early 1700s the Ottawa spread over much of the present State of Michigan, including Mackinac Island, Mantoulin Island and the eastern shore of Lake Michigan. Small Ottawa settlements surfaced on the St. Joseph River in lower Michigan and northern Indiana. European contagious disease epidemics riddled the Ottawa population in the early Eighteenth Century.

Pontiac, the great Ottawa chief, had an immense influence on Indians in the Wabash River Valley and The Illinois Country before and during the Pontiac War of 1763 (also called the "Conspiracy of Pontiac"), which had its primary sphere of activity in northern Ohio.

CHICKASAW

The Chickasaw was native to the Kentucky-Tennessee area. It was a Muskhogean language tribe – the only one of that dialect described here – which exercised considerable influence on the Wabash River Valley during much of the Eighteenth Century (including the homicide of Francois Marie Bissot de

Vincennes and 19 others on March 25, 1736 in present day Mississippi) and, again, early in the Nineteenth Century, during the Black Hawk War.

The Chickasaws became enemies of the French from the time they gave the Natchez nation asylum after the latter tribe massacred the French at Fort Rosalie in 1729. The Chickasaw retaliated with raids everywhere, including raids up the Wabash River. The French-Chickasaw War was peculiar to the Ohio River valley and consumed considerable attention from both the Quebec and Louisiana governments for more than two decades.

CHEROKEE

Historical Cherokee influence in the Wabash River valley is limited. Archaeologists believe that this nation, located in the southeast at the time of European contact, was related to the Iroquois of upstate New York. Its language was of Iroquois origin. Prehistorically, ancestors of the Cherokee are credited with occupying the largest southern Appalachian Mississippi culture site at Etowah in northwestern Georgia. Later, it was located south of the Ohio River on the Cherokee River in Tennessee. The Cherokee influenced other tribes, particularly the Chickasaws located on southern tributaries of the Ohio River.

The Cherokees may have another connection with the Wabash River Valley. Colonel Henry Hamilton, on his trip down the Wabash in 1778 to capture Vincennes, camped for two days at a site in present day Vigo County called "Cherokee Steeps". This name may have a prehistoric genesis or may result from Cherokee forays up the Wabash against Wabash Indians in 1760-1761. During 1757 and 1758, Cherokees acted as British auxiliaries on the Ohio River.

BROTHERTOWN INDIANS

Those interested in Indiana Indian history finds the names of the Brothertown Indians and the Wabash Indians mentioned in source material. Neither was a separate Indian nation. The Brothertown (also commonly called "Brotherton") Indians were mixed remnants of various New England tribes: Mohegans, Farmingtons, Stoningtons, Pequods, Narragansetts, Montauks and Nehantucks, who moved to Brothertown, Oneida County, New York between 1775 and 1788. The tribe's original leader was Samson Occom, a Mohegan Presbyrterian minister. Devastated by the Iroquois, these tribes made peace with the Oneida nation but could not get along with the Iroquois Mohawks and sought refuge in the west.

In 1817, Wabash River tribes offered the Brothertowns asylum and Thomas Dean of Deansboro, New York, was appointed to negotiate a pact to relocate the group near Fort Harrison. After spending four months, Dean did not succeed in acquiring lands in Indiana but, in 1824, found a refuge on the Fox River in Wisconsin. Meanwhile, several members of the Brothertowns located along the Wabash. Mary Ann Isaacs, a Brothertown, became a permanent resident when she married Christmas Dagenet, a Wea born in a Wea village at Terre Haute. After Dagenet died in Kansas, she married Baptiste Peoria, a nationally recognized Indian leader.

WABASH INDIANS

The Wabash Indians were, simply, the various tribes identified above which, at any point in time, were residing on the Wabash River. Throughout much of the river's Indian history, the prominent Wabash "tribes" were the Weas, the Piankeshaws, the Miamis, the Kickapoos, the Mascoutens and the Potawatomis. Because nations often resided together, it was difficult to assign an identity to any one or two nations. Therefore, the name is very appropriate.

IV. FRENCH OCCUPATION AND THE FRENCH FORT AT TERRE HAUTE

During the discussion of the Mascouten Indians, reference was made to the establishment of a tannery by Charles Juchereau de St. Denis in 1702. Letters which report the founding of the tannery identify its location as being on the "Ouabache." In fact, the tannery was located on the Ohio River. This error, and others, allowed some historians to either ignorantly or intentionally fabricate history. John Law cited these documents and concluded that Vincennes was founded in 1702. This is wrong and, in the past 75 years, has been clarified, particularly by noted Indiana historian Jacob Piatt Dunn.

Once 1702 was eliminated as the date the site now known as Vincennes was first occupied, the next logical question is: When was the site first occupied?

Some time around 1730, a post was established on the Wabash River by Francois Marie Bissot de Vincennes. The garrison did not have a specific name except "au Ouabache." Over the course of the next 35 years, posts on the Ouabache south of Post Ouiatanon were referred to variously as "Little Ouiatanon," "Poste des Pianguichas," "Little Wea," "L. Wiaut," "Post St. Ange," "Fort St. Ann," "Opost," "Terre Haute," "Post Vincent," "St. Vincent," and, finally, just "Vincennes." The first reference the author has found using the last choice was 1747.

Historians seem unaware of a fort being located on the southern Wabash River during the French regime except the post at Vincennes. Translators erroneously, but automatically, conclude that reference to any fort on the southern Wabash must be a reference to the current Vincennes' site. It is not unusual to real an original French document which refers to a fort on the Wabash simply as "au Ouabache," or "L. Wiaut," or another and find that a translator inserts in the translation, "Vincennes," instead of the term used by the communicator. Hopefully, such habits will be discouraged in the future.

Lieutenant John Wade was an American soldier stationed at Fort Wayne in 1795. At General Anthony Wayne's direction, Wade and another soldier, Ensign Thomas Bodley, conducted separate surveys of the Wabash River. Their extensive diaries, maintained by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania as part of the Anthony Wayne Papers, contain significant information about the increased Indian activity on the Wabash River that year.

Ensign Bodley reported that, from Vincennes to Terre Haute:

> ". . . the Land [is] fertile, well-watered, a great many Prairies & some good woods, the growth of Hickory, Oaks, Walnut, Elm, Buckeye & Sugar tree, and number of handsome situations-"
>
> "The High Ground [Terre Haute] is an extensive body of Rich Land on the South east side of the river, part of which is Prairie (sic) very fertile, in which some of the Wabash Indians are raising corn, this Season- Here is an elegant situation for a Fort, the Ground is High & the assent (sic) gradual from the water edge. [F]or this distance the river is above two hundred yards wide & in no place is seldom less than ten feet water in the Channel. [T]he Current is very gentle."

Lt. Wade left Vincennes on May 8. Before describing his experiences, particularly with the Indians, he described geographical features:

> "The variety of handsome streams which empty themselves into the Wabash, and which are ever ready with their waters to assist your ascension, greatly add to the Beauty

> of the Country and gives a luxuriance to the Scene, which is only felt by an admirer of the works of nature- The principal one are the Bruet (sic), which is located 27 miles from Terrote (sic), Racoon (sic) Creek 21 miles from Bruet (sic)- the River d Erablieries or Sugar tree river 10 miles from Racoon Creek- the Little Vermillion 6 miles above the d Erablieries- the Great Vermillion 8 miles above the Lesser- La petite Riviere at the Weaw (sic) about 61 miles from the Great Vermilion- (and so on)."

Wade goes on:

> "The Situations which strike the eye most forcibly are first the Terrote (sic) calculated to be half way from Fort Vincennes to Ouiattanon (sic)- *Here are the remains of an old French fort, which has been destroyed many years past.* [T]his Ground, tho well suited in many respects for the erection of a small work, is still too short a distance and its Banks steep, as to make it very fatiguing to obtain water."

A French fort at Terre Haute? Indiana histories have ignored it. Yet the existence of a post at "Terre Haute," or "the Highlands," is mentioned in communications well into the late 1740s. The name was not used as frequently after 1753 when its importance may have been reduced by either full or partial evacuation to another "fort on the Quabache."

If the date of the establishment of a French fort at Vincennes is an historical puzzle, then the establishment of a garrison at Terre Haute is more perplexing. In either event, a total study of the French occupation of the Wabash River is in order. Much documentation already is available to the historian. More material remains to be discovered but, likely, remains untranslated in dusty archives in France, Canada or Louisiana. Dr. Joseph Peyser's recent successes finding new source material regarding the Fox fort on the Wabash is an indication as to what a modern historian can uncover.

In January, 1715, French envoy Charles Thomas Dupuy was sent to the Wabash River country bearing gifts for the Miami and the Weas. He found that the "Miamis of the Wabash" were "disposed to make war" on the Fox and Dupuy "induced the Oyatanons to make the same resolve" though they were not inclined to do so.

In September, 1715, a band of Miamis, some Weas and some Illinois killed the son of Tonnere (Thunder), a principal Fox chief. Pleased with their allegiance, Dupuy hosted two Wea chiefs and three Miami chiefs at Detroit on November 3, 1715 to council regarding future warfare.

The timing was bad. At about the time of their departure for Detroit, a measles epidemic hit all of the "Wabash tribes." For several months, the Weas on the Wabash were averaging 20 deaths a day from the disease. One Wea chief died in Detroit. Three of the remaining four Miamis died from the disease on their return home. Though French-Wea relations continued, they were strained as the Weas blamed the French for the misfortune.

Meanwhile, several ambassadors, skilled in Indian relations, joined France's efforts to settle on the Wabash. Francois Picote' de Belestre was, perhaps, the most conspicuous in the earliest days; de Maunoir and Nicholas LaDouceur were two others. The French tried to rendezvous the Weas and the Miamis for an attack on a major Fox fort in northeastern Illinois. However, LaDouceur developed a severe illness, some warriors fell ill and the assault failed to materialize.

Jean Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes reported, at about the same time, that the Miamis, the Weas and the Illinois all had made peace with each other, had confirmed an alliance against the Fox and had killed the son of the Fox war chief, Tonnere (Thunder). Vincennes, known now as the "elder Vincennes," was France's primary public relations man at the "Miamis post" but was familiar with virtually every Indian village located within the present State of Indiana.

By 1715, the importance of the Wabash River country was recognized. Both the French government in Canada (New France) and the newly developed Louisiana colony gave it attention. Antoine Crozat, the leading French merchant in Louisiana, urged the establishment of a fort with a Jesuit missionary on the Wabash. In a June 23, 1716 communication, Crozat implied that there were already two French posts "on the Ouabache." Statements of that nature are confusing (and challenging) and, certainly, were based on the confusion of the name, "Ouabache," with the "Ohio" or "Belle River." There is no hard evidence that posts existed on the Wabash that early. In Canada, at about the same time, the Bishop of Quebec warned that the English had designs to situate on the Wabash.

On November 11, 1717, Charles Renaud Dubuisson, known as an excellent communicator with the Miamis, was selected to join Vincennes and Belestre in the Wabash River country as official "commandant of the Ouiatanons." By modern standards, Dubuisson was slow to reach "his post." Jean Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes spent much of his time on the St. Joseph River and near Kiskakon (Fort Wayne) on the Maumee River though he traveled throughout the Wabash River country. Belestre, meanwhile, located near a group of Wea villages on the Wabash, presumably near present day Lafayette.

Jacques-Charles de Sabrevois also was living "on the Wabash" by that time. In 1718, Sabrevois provided the earliest detailed report of Indiana Ouiatanons yet published. He described five Wea villages on the Wabash: "Ouyatanon, Peangnichias, Les Gros and Peticotias" were four of the names; he could not remember the name of the fifth. He did not call the Indians on the Wabash "Miamis" though he said that they "spoke like them" and that they were the "Miami's brothers." Interestingly, two "Wea villages" described by Sabrevois carried names associated with other identified subtribes of the Miamis: the Piankeshaws and the Petikokias. Both had been separately identified by Jesuit missionaries in Wisconsin and Michigan in the 17th Century.

Sabrevois and Belestre made progress with the Weas while the elder Vincennes charmed the Miamis at their villages on the Maumee and St. Joseph's rivers long before Dubuisson reached the Wabash country. On October 28, 1719, the senior Vincennes suddenly died near Kiskakon. The Miamis were in shock. The reverence with which he was held by that nation survived him for a half century. Death's impact was softened somewhat when Vincennes' 19-year old son, Francois-Marie Bissot de Vincennes, agreed to remain with them. Before he met a violent death in 1736, Francois-Marie became nearly as strong an influence over Wabash River Indians as his father had influenced their counterparts on the Maumee.

Though the elder Vincennes had tried to persuade the Miamis of the Maumee to move to the St. Joseph River near Niles, Michigan where they would be closer to Detroit, his death thwarted the move. Dubuisson and Belestre were charged with the same responsibility but neither the Weas of the Wabash nor the Miamis had much interest in moving their roots. A small band of Weas moved from near present day Lafayette in late 1720 to the Teakiky (Kankakee) River but they returned after only two months.

Designated in 1717 as the commandant of a post he had not seen, Dubuisson did not arrive in the Wabash country until late in 1721. Meanwhile, Belestre directed the construction of a fort in 1719, eventually called "Post Ouiatanon," while his wife was having a child. Sabrevois, young Vincennes, interpreter Nicolas La Douceur, blacksmith-interpreter Jean Richard (who was married to Wea woman and had three children), Simon Reaume, Pierre Roy (and his family: a Miami wife and three children), a man named Dumont and a few soldiers were the only reported French located on the Wabash.

Jean Baptiste Forestier, a trader, merchant and, probably, a relative of the young Vincennes (since Vincennes' mother was a Forestier) joined the group before Dubuisson, who finally obtained a permit to relocate on June 15, 1721, departed with 10 men (and several pots of brandy) for the Wabash on August 8. La Douceur, who had been to Montreal for a visit, was a member of Dubuisson's convoy. A December 23, 1721 memorandum confirms that Dubuisson finally was occupying "the post among The Miamis," generally recognized as being at the site of Fort Wayne.

Richard returned to Montreal with his Wea wife in 1720 but she could not tolerate the living conditions there. So, in September, 1722, with young Vincennes' blessing, Richard came back to the Ouiatanon post with his family and three others, Joseph Larrive', Louis Goulet and Francois Seran.

The Wabash River was considered the eastern boundary of "The Illinois Country," as the French called it though, later (1717 to 1763), the same area officially became known as the Illinois District of the Louisiana Colony of New France. It was the home of the Illinois Indians.

The southern boundary of the Quebec-governed domain (New France) in The Illinois Country was a line drawn from the confluence of The Illinois River into the Mississippi and "*terre haute aux des Ouabache.*" The northern boundary of The Illinois Country, as proclaimed by the Louisiana Colony, was been described, alternatively, as the confluence of the Mississippi and the Missouri rivers or the confluence of the Mississippi and the Illinois rivers and "*terre haute.*"

The Louisiana Colony was divided into three religious jurisdictions under an edict of May 16, 1722. The Jesuits were given exclusive authority over the area north of the Ohio River. Father Jean Mernet had accompanied Sieur Juchereau to the Ohio in 1702 but, prior to that time, no missionary had been assigned to the "Wabash Country." Father R. P. Guimoneau was the first to be so "honored" on May 26, 1725. Whether Guimoneau ever reached the Wabash is, at best, uncertain.

Though the only identified French garrison on the Wabash River was Post Ouiatanon, which was under Canadian control, young Vincennes' achievements quickly became recognized by the Louisiana Colony. Though his duties originally had been assigned by Montreal, Vincennes was promoted to a half-pay ensign by Louisiana on May 20, 1722 and, then, to half-pay lieutenant on December 19, 1722 by the same colony. He was also being paid by Quebec. Louisiana's interest in, and handling of, young Vincennes is an enigma. Documents fail to explain; some supposition is required. Since Post Ouiatanon of the Canadian colony was the only French station on the Wabash, its jurisdiction logically included at least an expanse of the river south of the artificial boundary between the two colonies: "*terre haute aux des Ouabache.*"

On August 17, 1724, Canadian Governor Phillipe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil wrote the following message to Dugue de Boisbriand, the commandant at the Illinois:

> "I am much please with the advancement of Srs. St.-Ange, father and son, but I am surprised that you are thinking of taking Sr. de Vincennes away from my government and that you have tried to make him leave a post where he is very necessary, on account of the credit which he has among the savage nations of this post, which you know does not belong in any way to the government of the Mississippi. I would be very sorry to be obliged to take my complaint to court, which I will, however, have to do if you try to take him away. I flatter myself, Monsieur, that you will give your attention to this matter and that you will reflect on the inconveniences which could come from it.

> I wrote last year for the advancement of Sr. de Vincennes. I hope that the court has paid attention to my representation and that he will have his advance this year."

Though Post Ouiatanon was built by Belestre in 1719 or earlier, there was still talk in Louisiana about establishing "a post on the Ouabache" several years after that date. Louisiana Governor Jean Baptiste le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville stated that "we have no fort on the Ouabache" in 1725. Since Belestre's post was already in existence, he must have meant a Wabash post south of Louisiana's northern boundary. The 1726 Louisiana budget included monies for a Jesuit priest at the Ouabache post "when established." Father Guimoneau already may have been there but no reference is made to his arrival or presence.

Governor Vaudreuil died in late 1725 and was succeeded by 55-year old Charles de la Boische, Marquis de Beauharnois. There was a change in the leadership of the Louisiana Colony, too, for different reasons. Louis de Perier succeeded Governor Bienville for about eight years. Beauharnois wanted young Vincennes to bring the Miamis and the Weas closer to Canada. Perier wanted Canada to relinquish Sieur Vincennes to his jurisdiction and, through The Louisiana Company, establish a fort on the "lower Wabash."

On April 23, 1726, young Vincennes received a promotion to Second Ensign by Canada and continued to make reports to both jurisdictions. Only a few of those communications have been uncovered. Other correspondents referred to Vincennes regularly. On September 30, 1726, the Company of the Indies wrote the following message to Louisiana Governor Perier:

> ". . . the company has ordered the establishment of a post on the Wabash river and has begged the governor of Canada to order the Sr. de Vincennes who is in command among the Ouyatanon-Miamis settled near the source of the Wabash, to get into communication with the commandant of the new post, to make this nation approach to protect this post and also to observe the conduct of the English and drive them away in case they come near . . . .
>
> On the other hand the company learns through M. Desliettes, commandant among the Illinois, that Sr. de Vincennes had come to find him and tell him that he learned that the English had already formed a settlement near the source of the Ohio river, and that he had sent Sr. de Vincennes with presents for the Indians, ordering him to make sure of the truth of the news. If it is confirmed there is not a moment to lose in having the lower part of the Ohio river occupied by the Ouyatanons, and it is necessary immediately to establish a fort on the Wabash near the place where the Cumberland rivers (sic) flows into it. To place there in command an officer who can live in harmony with Sr. de Vincennes, whom it will not do at all to remove from the Ouyatanons, if one hopes to get from them the service we desire. M. Perier must consider well this affair and find out, if in giving eight or ten soldiers to the said Sr. de Vincennes with the missionary destined for Wabash, he will not find himself in condition to assure, through the savages, the communications between Louisiana and Canada, and of preventing the English from penetrating into our colony, without obliging the company to construct in the lower regions of the Wabash rive a fort, the expense of the establishment of which, and the maintenance of a garrison would be an object of consequence.
>
> In order to persuade the Sr. de Vincennes to attach himself to the colony of Louisiana, M. Perrier (sic) advised him that he would obtain from the company for him an annual stipend of three hundred livres which would be paid to him along with his salary as half-pay lieutenant."

Between 1726 and 1730, movement occurred. Gilles Hocquart, Intendant of Canada, made the following report on October 15, 1730:

> "The Ouiatanons have been led into the government of Louisiana by the Sieur de Vincennes, who is entirely removed from this one. The Sieur de Beauharnois (to oblige this nation to return to the Miami to seek their necessities) at first had planned not to permit any voyageur to go to that region, and his plan would have been carried out if he had not been pledged to grant this permission to some Frenchmen to escort missionaries to the Tamaroa; they took away with them a quantity of merchandise which they will exploit in the former post as usual."

This above letter is significant since in connects the movement by Vincennes from the Canadian colony, north of the *terre haute* dividing line, to the Louisiana colony. Interestingly, the letter is written about a month after the battle which annihilated the Fox and in which some Weas participated.

In July, 1731, the Louisiana roll of officers and their established salaries were listed as:

"At the Illinois
A commandant, in full for salaries and for the support of the fort . . . 2,000 (livres)
At the Ouabache
A commandant, the same . . . . 800"

A French commandant at Natchitoches in Louisiana, on November 30, 1731, wrote:

> "On the Ouabache, which as always been neglected, and on which, in my opinion, by the information I have had, we should be the first to form an establishment, for by report it is a key of the English by which they would better be able to get hold of the Province of Louisiana than by any other place, and to entice away our tribes, because in peace they have made this effort many times. There will be necessary in this post – I would advance the number to be needed there, so to speak, to four hundred men rather than three."

In 1732 Simon Reaume was serving as commandant of the Wea post on the Wabash. He tried to attract "the Piankeshaws of the Vermillion" to his post. On January 25, 1733, Governor Perier wrote from Louisiana:

> "The Ouiatanons, at whose home is Sieur de Vincennes, are united with the Arkansas to make war together on the Chickasaws, etc."

On March 7, 1733, the young Vincennes wrote a remarkable letter to the Council of Marine in France, which has been translated by several historians. Jacob Piatt Dunn offers this translation:

> "To make reply to the honor of yours, I will commence by informing you that the Ouabache nation is composed of five tribes, which include four villages, of which the least is of sixty men bearing arms, and in all about six or seven hundred men, whom it will be necessary, for the good of the service, to gather together and remove from the proximity to the English. It has been impossible for me to being together all these tribes because I have always lacked merchandise in this place. *The fort which I have built is eighty leagues up the Ouabache, above the rivers by which the English will be able to descend and open trade with these tribes.* The place is well fitted for the location of a large establishment,

which I would have made if I had the troops. In regard to the trade which can be had, it is in furs. It is possible to send out from this post every year about thirty thousand skins. That, monsieur, is all the trade that can be secured for the present.

There has never been so great need of troops at this place as at present. The Indians, Illinois as well as Miamis and others, are more insolent than they have ever been and that since the Foxes have been overthrown. The little experience I have acquired in the twenty [?] years I have been with them, makes me fear some bad return from these nations, especially mine [referring, presumably, to the Ouiatanons], which sees an establishment that I have begun and which there has appeared no desire to continue in the past three years. The only thing that can come in the meantime, Monsieur, is the loss to us of all the tribes, both of the lakes and of other places.

You have done me the honor to ask me to send to you a statement of the works finished and to be constructed. *There is only a fort and two houses in it, and there should at once be built a guard room with barracks for lodging the soldiers. It is not possible to remain in this place with so few troops. It will need thirty men with an officer.* I am more embarrassed than ever in this place by the war with the Chickasaws who have come here twice since spring. It is only twelve days since the last party brought in three persons, and as it is the French who have put the tomahawk in their hands, I am obliged to be at expense continually. I hope of your kindness that you will give special attention to this place and to the trouble which I experience, as well for myself as for the little garrison that I have. It is a favor expected of you by him who has the honor to be with profound respect, Monsieur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

VINCENNES"

The same letter was translated by Pierre George-Roy as follows:

"To reply to your letter which I have had the honor to receive I begin by informing you that the Wabash is composed of five nations who compose four villages of which the least has sixty men carrying arms, and all of them could furnish from six to seven hundred men if it were necessary to assemble them for the welfare of the service and for their own welfare. On account of the nearness of the English, it has been impossible for me to being together all these nations because there has always been a lack of merchandise in this place. The fort which I have built is about eighty miles (sic; the letter says "lieues") in the Wabash country, up (or above) the river by which the English have been able to descend and open up commerce with these nations. The place is very suitable in which to build a great settlement which I would have done if I had troops enough. In regard to the commerce which one can carry on here, a traffic in skins could go on all year to the extent of 30,000 skins. This is the only commerce, Monsieur, which could be carried for the present.

I have never had a greater need of troops in these places than at the present time. The savages, the Illinois, as well as the Miamis and others are more insolent than they have ever been, especially since the Fox were defeated. The little experience which I have acquired in the twenty years that I have been among them, causes me to fear some evil trick on the part of these nations and above all, of my own who seeing a settlement which I had begun, did not seem to wish it to be continued. Since for three years nothing has happened. Except, Monsieur, the migration of all the nations no only of the lakes but also of other places.

You do me the honor to indicate to me that I send you a statement of the work done and to be done. There is only one fort and two houses within and it will be necessary very soon to build a guard house with barracks in which to lodge the soldiers. Nothing else is possible in this place with so few troops. I need thirty men with an officer. I am more

> embarrassed than ever, in this place, by the war with the Chickasaws who have come twice this spring. Only two days ago the last party took away three people and since the French took up tomahawks against them I am obliged every day to put up a defense. I hope, that of your goodness, you will indeed wish to give your attention to this place and to my difficulty for myself as well as for the little garrison which I have. This is the favor which he awaits, from you, who has the honor to be, with profound respect, Monsieur, your very humble and obedient servant.
>
> *Vinsenne."*

In the first paragraph of the text of his letter, Vincennes used the term, "lieues," not "miles," to describe the distance. Dunn's translation, not Roy's, is correct. Vincennes had no use for the term "miles," which did not come into popular usage until after the English occupation in 1765. Is Dunn or Roy correct in translating the point from which that distance should be measured? If the distance is measured from the confluence of the Wabash and the Ohio Rivers, it offers one location. If the distance is measured from the confluence of the Mississippi and the Ohio, then it identifies another location. Under Roy's interpretation, the point from which 80 leagues should be measured is subject to conjecture. By 1733, French residing on the Wabash – particularly the worldly Francois-Marie Bissot, Sieur de Vincennes – knew the location of the confluence of the Wabash and Ohio rivers and that the Wabash was a tributary of the Ohio.

Which "lieue" Vincennes was using? In Dunn's context, Vincennes may have been referring to marine lieues: one marine lieue = 3.45 miles. If Roy's context is correct, then it could be post lieues (2.42 English miles each) or common lieues (2.76 miles each). What did Vincennes mean when he used the term, "three years"? The connotation seems to be that the garrison Vincennes was describing had been built three years before, or in 1730. This is consistent with Hocquart's report! Dunn questions Vincennes' statement that he had been with the Indians for 20 years since he succeeded his father in 1719, only 13 years before.

Roy produced birth records which show that young Vincennes was born in Montreal on June 17, 1700. He was baptized Francois-Marie, son of "Jean Bissot, Sieur of Vincennes and Marguerite Forestier, his wife." His godfather was "Francois Margane, esq., Sieur de Batilly," who was also his cousin. Occasionally, Vincennes used the name, "Margane," as his middle name, an accepted custom among French-Canadians but a thorn to conscientious historians who, until this century, could not figure out how many men named "Vincennes" were residing in the Maumee-Wabash area.

Roy also produced records that Vincennes was serving as a cadet under his father in 1718. The insinuation is that he joined his father at that time; however, the elder Vincennes had been serving at Detroit in 1712 and young Vincennes may have had exposure to native Americans at a much earlier year.

Two weeks (March 23, 1733) after the above letter, Vincennes wrote another letter to the Council of Marine from the *"fort a'Ouabache."* It reports that the Governor of Canada sent a packet to him, including a belt and pipe, to forward to Robert Groston St. Ange, commandant at the Illinois, to be used in dealing with Indians around Fort de Chartres to prod them to attack the Chickasaws. It also reported that the Chickasaws had killed six Frenchmen in the Wabash country in the previous autumn, as he had informed the Council "in my last letter." His "last letter," describing the atrocities, has not been found.

Bienville, who resumed duties as governor of the Louisiana colony again in 1733, reported, in part, on May 20, 1733:

> "By the same letter Sieur St. Ange testifies that he is little assured of the fidelity

of the Illinois, who often give him alarm, and make pretense of fear of our resentment for their past faults to have a pretext for agitation.

On another side Sieur de Vincennes, who commands at the Miamis, states that the savages established on the Ouabache are not more tranquil than the Illinois; that he is not in condition to prevent them from trading with the English, because it would be necessary to bring them all together, and he has not the merchandise to invite them, in addition to which the garrison is too feeble to constrain this nation."

On April 8, 1734, Governor Bienville wrote:

> "As concerns the Wabash, M. de Vincennes from whom we have had no news informs us by a messenger, who has just come down from among the Illinois, that the fort which he had built for the garrison which consisted of only ten men is very small and in fairly good condition, that it is necessary only to place around it a double wall of stone. That he has had built within a house at his own expense for his dwelling and that some of the soldiers on their part have made barracks to live in, that immediately the garrison is to be increased to thirty men, an order which M. de Bienville has given to M. [Pierre] Dartaguiette."

Nearly four months later (July 27, 1734), Bienville reported:

> "Sieur de Vincennes, who commands there, reports that the Piankeshaws, who are settled near our fort, desire to draw to them a village of the same nation which is 60 leagues higher up. Two reasons make him favor this design; the first to strengthen our establishment, and the second to take from this village the opportunity for trading with the English, who have two warehouses at the home of the Shawnees on the Ohio river . . . In addition, as the post d'Ouabache is one of the more important ones of the Colony, since it is a barrier to obstruct the advance of the English, who always have commonly frequented these parts, he has given orders to M. D'Artaguiette to detach 30 men with two officers to garrison it."

On December 27, 1735, Minister of Marine Jean-Frederic Phelypeaux de Maurepas wrote Governor Bienville about continuing problems with the Chickasaws and the British:

> "It is not surprising that the English who have settled on the heights of the Ohio Riv. are trying to win over nations to their side; but what Surprised me is the information that Sr. de Vincennes gave You that the Miamis of the Portage and those of the Ouiatanons . . . had decided to go last autumn to settle near Them. The news that came to me from Canada concerning the movements of these Indians does not entirely agree with this information. I shall inform the Marquis de Beauharnois about what you wrote me. For Your part will you please strongly advise Sr. Vincennes to maintain the Indians of His post, who have refused the Belts offered by the English, in the Feelings that he says they are in, and to do everything he can to Nullify the attempts that the English will be able to undertake both among the miamis and the other nations where he is in command."

Governor Bienville became determined in 1736 to invade the Chickasaw country and sought aid from northern settlements. Vincennes' small garrison on the Wabash joined troops from Fort de Chartres in the expedition. It was a disaster; the Chickasaw ambushed the group, killed several at the site and burned 20 captives at the stake, including Father Antoine Senat, Pierre St. Ange, D'Artaguiette and Vincennes. The date: March 25, 1736. Claude Drouet de Carqueville is believed to be the only Frenchman who escaped the slaughter.

There was an immediate need to replace Vincennes on the Wabash. Robert Groston St. Ange, the commandant at Fort de Chartres who lost his eldest son to the Chickasaws, requested that his other son, Louis Groston St. Ange, be the replacement. The request was granted. In 1737, fifteen months after Vincennes' death on Palm Sunday, 1736, chaos reined on the Wabash. Governor Bienville wrote:

> "The Peanghikeas among whom we have a post where the late M. de Vincennes was in command have almost all left their village since his death, except about 15 men who are still with Sr. de St. Ange. They have gone higher up the Wabash to another village. . . . This circumstance and the recent and repeated attempts of the English to penetrate into the colony by way of the Ohio river by which they descend into the Wabash country has determined me to replace this fort about forty leagues further down at the mouth of the this river. I would have done this sooner if the savages had been willing to follow us there. At the present time the Kickapoos and the Mascoutens who came two years ago to set up their village with the Miamis do not get along well with them and M. de la Buissoniere assures me that if one should invite them, they would settle there. I sent him orders for this change which would not cost much and I hope that Monseigneur will approve them. I only fear that Lt. de Linquetot (de Linctot), an officer of Canada, who is in command at the Miamis and Ouiatanons, may oppose letting the Kickapoos and Mascoutens go, as these two tribes are in his department. I will write him on this subject."

Confirmation of the Piankeshaws' removal to "their ancient village on the Vermillion River" was included in another letter written the next day by Louis Groston St. Ange, from the fort on the Wabash, who was quoted as saying the he had not seen "up to the present, that this post was of great use and that it causes much expense." Salmon wrote:

> "For myself, I think that truly it is more expensive than it is useful. However it might be of consequence to preserve to prevent the English from settling there which they will certainly do if we abandon it."

The above communications are interesting since the Kickapoos and Mascouten have long been identified with the Terre Haute and Lafayette areas, not Vincennes. Moreover, the Kickapoos and Mascoutens were located, according to Bienville, in the "Canadian colony." The site of present day Vincennes was, without question, in the Louisiana Colony.

There seems to be a reduction of available translated communications regarding the Wabash forts between 1740 and 1747. Documents which have been examined do not seem to shed substantial light on the issues discussed here. However, among those available are documents affirming that Henry Albert de St. Vincent became commander at the Ouiatanon post in 1740; posts in the Illinois country were scheduled to be auctioned off to private owners in 1742, including the post at Ouiatanon; in 1746, there was a post in the Louisiana Colony on the Wabash called "Petits Quyas;" in 1746, trader Michel Gamelin delivered supplies to Indiana nations along the Wabash including substantial supplies to "Le Brave, chief of the Mascouten at Terre Haute" and to "Mainobas, chief of the Kickapoos;" in 1747, Gamelin delivered supplies to "M. the commandant, who is going to Terre Haute with 4 men for the above subject;" and, in 1747, Gamelin gave powder and wheat to "M. Portneuf at Terre Haute." Louis Robineau de Portneuf and two other men named Portneuf became significant French figures during the French & Indian War.

In early 1747, there were plans to build a new fort on the Wabash. Canadian Governor de Vaudreuil made the following remarks in a report dated April 8, 1847:

> "The fear which I have always had makes me insist, Monseigneur, that you consider of what importance to us will be the projected fort on the Ouabache, and I feel the necessity of it so much that I should have taken it on myself to commence it this year, if I had not found your orders on this subject very explicit. These considerations make me hope, Monseigneur, that you may be willing to authorize me, by the next vessel, to make this establishment, according to the plans which you have received."

In spite of its distinguished history, the precise settlement date of Vincennes is not definitive. The first translated French document which identifies "Vincennes" as a post was dated in late 1747. The records at St. Francis Xavier Church in Vincennes (now apparently destroyed) registered "1749" as the earliest date.

Was a new fort constructed in 1747 in accordance with Governor de Vaudreuil's plans? Why was a new fort at that time so vital? Certainly, the threat to France's dominance had escalated and there was a perceived need for more fortresses.

The communication raises other questions. Was another fort on the Wabash destroyed? Was there a need to have a fort nearer to the confluence of the Wabash and White rivers because of the English presence? Was there a significant Indian movement which demanded a fort at a different location? Those questions have not been answered. Is it merely coincidental that the date of plans for a new fort coincide with the time when the name, "Vincennes," as a site, first appeared in the French documents?

A letter which helps solve this enigma was written by Major Henry Vanderburgh to the Secretary of the Northwest Territory, Winthrop Sargent, on October 28, 1797. Sargent called upon Vanderburgh to recount the history of the Vincennes since long-time French residents contended that they should be given land upon which they "squatted" many years before. Vanderburgh was very knowledgeable about tradition of the Vincennes settlement. He moved there in 1788 and married Frances Cornoyer, the daughter of Pierre Cornoyer, a long-time Vincennes resident. He was appointed Justice of Peace and Probate Judge for Knox County in 1791 and, ultimately, became a Judge of the Supreme Court of the Indiana Territory.

Vanderburgh obliged with the following remarks which, though containing some inaccuracies, emits important light on what may have occurred:

> "Vincennes had its name from Monsieur de Vincennes, who was the first Frenchman that encamped on this ground as he passed with French troops from Canada, to Louisiana, in or about the year 1737. Monsieur de Vincennes was afterwards burnt with a Jesuit by the Chicakasaws. It appears that there were no more than three families here in the year 1745. – That Monsieur St, Ange, the only French officer that ever commanded here arrived in the year 1747 or 48, – That he commanded here till the 18th day of May 1764, on which day he appointed Monsieur Rusherville (sic; Drouet de Richardville), who it appears was then doing duty as Captain of the Militia, to succeed him and gave him instructions accordingly, – after the death of Rusherville, which happened in the year 1767, Lieutenant Chapard commanded until his decease, when the command devolved on Monsieur Racine St. Marie, the Ensign, who always received his orders from the British commandants in the Illinois; – my informants have not been able to mention the duration of these respective commands, – Monsieur Racine continued to command till the arrival of Mr. Abbet, a British officer in the year 1777, who returned to Detroit the same year after

> building a small Fort, and leaving the command with Monsieur Bolon, who surrendered the same to Captain Helmes (sic), of the Virginia troops in July, 1778 – Governor Hamilton arrived in Nov. or Dec. in the same year, and took Helmes and the Governor prisoners and repaired the works, – he was taken by General Clark, in the month of February 1779. The population of this place appears then to have been about three hundred families, – at this time there are about 110 houses in the Village in which people dwell, and about 75 in the country – I estimate the number of souls to be upward of 1,200."

Vanderburgh did not have the benefit of French documents when he prepared his letter, only tradition and conversations with long-time Vincennes' residents. Obviously, he was wrong on the date of Vincennes' death. However, he was reasonably accurate on most other issues. Historian Dunn, the man responsible for asserting the founding of Vincennes in the 1730s, recognizes and compliments Vanderburgh's accuracy. It is doubtful that he would advise a date *after* tradition, or those conversations, placed the first French residents at the settlement. In light of documents uncovered after Vanderburgh's 1797 letter which confirm the existence of a fort on the southern Wabash at an earlier time, Dunn concluded in 1919 that the first fort was built at Vincennes in the early 1730s. Dunn was not aware of Lt. Wade's letter and did not have other documents referred which discussed the movement of the post on the Wabash. Had Dunn had in his possession the documents identified above, he may have deduced that the post was not established at Vincennes until 1747 or 1748. Until Dunn's revelations, the settlement date widely ranged from 1702 to 1746. The Knox County Court House cornerstone reads "1702," the date Juchereau founded the tannery.

There is tenable evidence that the "fort on the Quabache," established between 1730 and 1733 by Francois-Marie Bissot, Sieur de Vincennes, was located at or near the *"terre haute aux des Ouabache."* Logic dictates that Vincennes, who was being paid by both Canada and Louisiana, felt compelled to locate near the division line between the two French colonies. This writer's tentative conclusion is that the fort "at *Terre Haute*" was built by Francois-Marie Bissot, Sieur de Vincennes late in 1730 and abandoned as the principal post on the southern Wabash in about 1747.

This is the first publication of material which attempts to unravel the mystery of the French fort at Terre Haute. No one yet has attempted to find the French fort in Vigo County or its environs though superficial excavations at the federal penitentiary near the southwest edge of Terre Haute in the late 1940s uncovered evidence of significant European occupation. One Michigan State archaeology graduate student has expressed an interest in the past few years but did not obtain approval. Excavations at select sites between Terre Haute and Merom, located on a high eastern bank of the Wabash, may be worthwhile. It is a project waiting to happen.

The above chronicle barely scratches the research surface on this issue. There are abundance of other references to young Vincennes' activities and, after his death, to picking up supplies and delivering supplies them either to "Terre Haute" or to individuals living at Terre Haute. Publication of additional documents on the subject is contemplated.

V. THE BRITISH TAKE OVER

Six French settlements in the Illinois Country were ceded to the English by the Treaty of Paris, February 10, 1763: Cahokia, at the site of Cahokia Creek less than four miles from St. Louis; St. Philip, 45 miles below Cahokia on the Mississippi River; Kaskaskia, on the Kaskaskia River six miles from its mouth; Fort de Chartres, 15 miles northwest of Kaskaskia on the Mississippi; Prairie de Rocher, near Fort Chartres; and Vincennes on the Wabash.

The English were civil conquerors. They promised religious freedom to Catholics and granted French settlers the right to leave the country or remain. If they stayed they were granted the rights and privileges of Englishmen.

In spite of these advantages, the British did not attain a high degree of effective control over this area. Kaskaskia was the seat of government and Fort Gage was garrisoned there. Trade goods and provisions were no longer freely dispensed to the Indians as a traditional means of securing an alliance. Instead, goods were traded only in exchange for valuable commodities, particularly furs. The conspiracy of Pontiac, encouraged by the French, was an outgrowth of the new British policy and England's expansion into the territory west of the Alleghenies which was well underway at the time peace was reached. The conspiracy resulted in surprise attacks on the forts in Indiana on May 27 and June 1.

Conflict hastened major changes in British Indian policy. In 1763, Gen. Charles Lee of Revolutionary War fame and Sir Jeffrey Amherst announced intentions to attempt to colonize an area near the confluence of the Ohio and Wabash rivers and another area on the Illinois River. At about the same time, the Mississippi Land Company was formed by prominent Virginia and Maryland residents for a similar purpose. George Washington was among the 38-member Mississippi Land Company investment group. These colonization efforts were discouraged by a proclamation of the British ministry that all land west of the Alleghenies and northwest of Florida were "reserved for Indian use." Washington later wrote that the proclamation was nothing more than a "temporary measure to ease the mind of the Indians."

English Colonel George Croghan, a man who had gained Indians' confidence, was sent on a mission to the west and captured by a Kickapoo-Mascouten band on June 8, 1765 near the confluence of the Ohio and Wabash rivers. He was carried to Post Vincent, then to Post Ouiatanon, then to the Miamis' village on the St. Joseph River near Fort Wayne and, then, to Detroit. The distance between St. Vincent and "Ouicatanon," he said, 210 miles. He kept an interesting journal describing the travels, including a description of the Piankeshaw Hunting Ground. Near Ouiatanon, his party met a large Indian party going to The Illinois Country, including Pontiac. Croghan was freed at Post Ouiatanon and his captors lectured.

In 1766 another project for the colonization of the west was proposed by a firm of Philadelphia merchants, Baynton, Wharton and Morgan. The proposal included land bounded by the Wisconsin, Mississippi, Ohio and Wabash rivers. Even Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for England since 1756, was involved in the plans. Pamphlets were distributed in England urging the necessity of immediate occupation and painted a brilliant picture of opportunities available in the area.

On April 17, 1766, Johnson appointed Edward Cole to be commissary of Indian Affairs in the Illinois Country in order to pacify the Indians. Meanwhile, Johnson and Gen. Thomas Gage convinced General George Croghan to make another mission to the West. Croghan and Cole arrived at Fort de Chartres in late August. As a result of their efforts, particularly the rallying of a conference involving representatives of 22 tribes from eight nations, a peace was declared between the British and all western Indians except those the French had encouraged to stay away from the meeting.

Captain Philip Pitman, a military engineer for the British army, described the area in 1770:

> "The air, in general, is pure, and the sky serene, except in the month of March, and the latter end of September. but in the proportion of five years out of six, the autumnal months are dry, the pastures decay, and the farmers find inconvenience in sowing wheat, from the drouth. . . .
>
> The principal Indian nation [in the Illinois Country] are the Cascasquias, Kahoquias, Mitchigamias, and Peoryas; these four tribes are generally called the Illinois Indians. Except in the hunting season, they reside near the English settlements in the country. They are poor, debauched, and detestable people. They count about three hundred and fifty warriors. The Pianquichas, Mascoutins, Miamies, Kickapous, and Pyatonons, though not very numerous, are brave and war-like people."

In 1772, Gen. Gage issued an order to the French inhabitants at Vincennes to "withdraw from the Indian country." They forwarded a remonstrance to him asserting their legal rights to those lands, claiming that they had been settled their for "seventy years." Gage demanded "convincing proof." The only material document provided in response was a certificate of Louis Groston St. Ange that he had commanded on the Wabash from 1736 to 1764 and that a post was "established a number of years before my command, under that of M. de Vincesne, officer of the troops, who I succeeded by order of the king." One claimant asserted that he had received a grant from Sieur Vincennes to land on the Wabash prior to 1736 but he had lost it.

In 1773, William Murray, representing The Illinois Land Company, purchased a large tract of land on the Illinois River and another tract, south of Kaskaskia, on the Ohio River from the Indians with the intent to colonize. This pattern was repeated when Louis Viviat, representing the Wabash Land Company, purchased tracts on the Wabash. All those transactions were voided by Gen. Gage as being contrary to the Proclamation of 1763. As a result, private efforts to colonize the Illinois Country ceased.

The British dominion of western posts – particularly Detroit, Kaskaskia and Vincennes – gave them easy access to the Indian nations. George Rogers Clark correctly believed that the British had an Achilles' heel: not all native nations were enamored with the British and, if they were defeated and expelled from those posts, the natives might be bribed into, at least, neutrality. On January 2, 1778, Clark received the authority from Virginia Governor Patrick Henry to enlist seven companies "to go to Kentucky, subject to his [Clark's] orders, and to serve for three months . . . ."

The rest of the story is well known to those acquainted with Indiana history. Clark produced a panic and captured Kaskaskia, manned substantially by French personnel, from the British without bloodshed. After convincing French natives that he was friendly to them and authorized the inhabitants to conduct themselves as if a change in command had not occurred, Clark planned an excursion against Cahokia. The capture of Cahokia was even easier. Less than a dozen British soldiers were in the garrison. Supposition that Clark had assembled a large army encamped at the Falls of the Ohio, near Louisville, generated a cordial reception to the Americans.

Meanwhile, Clark sent priest Pierre Gibault to Vincennes. Gibault was successful in convincing its citizens, most of whom were French, to raise the American flag much to the surprise of neighboring Indians, particularly Piankeshaw chief Big Door, the son the revered chief, Old Tobacco. In August, Captain Leonard Helm, perhaps Clark's most trusted officer, was placed in charge of Post Vincent. Helm was greeted by Big Door and, after considerable deliberation, the Piankeshaw chief invited him to council with "Old Tobac." The meeting resulted in an Indian pronouncement that the "Big Knives were in the right" and that "all the red people on the Wabash would no longer bloody the land for the English."

In October, 1778 Clark was forewarned that a British envoy had gone to Post Ouiatanon to fortify England's interest in the posts on the Wabash. Clark sent Captain Helm from Post Vincent with 100 men to surprise the British but the envoy got away. Helm took 40 prisoners but released them and returned to Vincennes. At about the same time, Clark lost several men to an American expedition to Detroit. Clark's loss permitted the post at Vincennes to be exposed to attack. And the British, though unaware of the depletion of American troops, had such plans. Henry Hamilton, the British Lieutenant Governor of Detroit, with a collection of British regulars, several French volunteers and about 400 Indians left Detroit and headed down the Wabash with the intention of recapturing the recently acquired American fort.

Hamilton's eventful journey down the Wabash to Vincennes includes several stops in the immediate area. The references to the sites of his camps were specific but enigmatic. "Cherokee Steeps," for instance, from the description provided, may be near the later site of Fort Harrison. Here is what Lt. Governor Hamilton said, in his own words, about his stay in present day Vigo County and environs in December, 1778 on the way to recapture the American fort at Vincennes:

> "7th. Passed the river and Village called Vermillion, and encamped two leagues below it on the opposite side, all the Indians of this Village absent on their Winter hunt – The Shawanese applyed (sic) to me to leave to proceed to St. Vincennes to make a prisoner and get information to which I agreed –
>
> 8th. From 12 at Noon yesterday till late at Night it rained very hard with a tempestuous wind, towards morning the wind shifted and brought on snow with so keen an air that we were obliged to make our fires in our tents before we could pack them up - The Chiefs came to me this morning and reminded me of my promise to them at Detroit, that there should be attention paid to their customs &*ca* In consequence they decided I should allow them to decamp before us and pitch about 2 leagues distant, that they had a ceremonial to go thro which would take them some time, and they wished to be altogether for the purpose – I consented, – this with the badness of weather, prevented out getting away till one o'Clock afternoon – we encamped about 7 miles lower and opposite to the Indians – i.e., on the opposite side of the river –
>
> I had in the morning told Egushewai, the intention of the Shawanese desiring he would inform the rest of the chiefs, which he did, in the Evening they crossed the river, came to my tent, and requested that the Shawanese should be stopped – I urged everything in my power for their going but in vain and was at length obliged to send to stop them –
>
> The Savages employed themselves 'till a late hour, in their ceremonies, they sung to their budget Gods in uncouth but melancholy strains, then passed thro the encampment sing the war song at each separate camp of their tribes and out detachments –
>
> As the breadth of the river now permitted, I this day ordered the boats should row in divisions abreast – I conversed with the chiefs on the method they should observe, on a nearer approach to the Enemy, and found their ideas conformable to what I should have adopted – A Body of Indians was to proceed on each side of the River having parties advanced to reconnoitre who were to be relieved occasionally – having mentioned to them the necessity of acting with every precaution on our nearer approach to St. Vincennes they approved, and further of the propriety of sending parties at some distance from St. Vincennes, on the road to the Falls of Ohio, and Kaskasquias, as well as below the Village on the river to intercept intelligence –
>
> 9th. We rowed this day about 8 leagues tho the wind was ahead – An order had

been given at setting out against firing at game from Boats but did not mean to restrain the Indians, till within a certain distance from the Enemy – The wild Turkies (sic) which are vast in numbers on this river fly across in flights of several scores togather (sic), had drawn the fire of the Indians, and by the glancing of a ball, the White Fish an old Shawanese chief had his eye struck out – without emotion he said, this comes from a friend, as lamenting that he should be wounded and not in fighting –

We encamped at the Cherokee Steeps, (les Ecors des Tetes plattes)

10th. The Weather cold and wind too high for the smaller craft – The chiefs assembled at my tent and the petit Gris (dappled faun) a Miamis chief spoke upon a white string of Wampum, lamenting the accident which happened the day before to the chief of the Shawanese, requesting them to consider it purely as an accident – That we ought not to repine at anything which happend (sic) by the permission of the great Spirit, – charged the chiefs to recommend to their young men to be less giddy, that we were now approaching an enemy, and it would become them to act with circumspection and not be squandered in the woods in pursuit of game – To prevent their boats going too far ahead, and that they ought to imitate the order and regularity of the whites – That if they had listend (sic) to their fathers advice, this accident would not have happend (sic) – I approved and supported what he said – *Wa we ya pe yass in waa* the young Shawanese chief thanked him for his friendly condoleance (sic) – Then spoke on the necessity of sending parties ahead and gave good reasons why the Shawanese should be employed on that Service –

I spoke privately with Egushewai, approved of what the young chief said at the same time assuring him that I would not take such a step if not agreable (sic) to the other nations – Jealousy among the Indians very common tho' industriously concealed – They determined to consult this night on the subject – I advised that some of the different nations should be sent togather (sic) as they would then be a check each on the other – That it was requisite the numbers of the enemy and their disposition should be discovered if possible, and to be speedy in the determination –

The Indians properest (sic) for the busyness (sic) of the kind, as they can go into a settlement with skins as for trade and not be suspected, whereas a white man and a stranger would immediately be stopped – Crooked legs related publickly all that passed with the Virginians declaring that since I had enjoined him he would not conceal any thing – He mentioned that his own son in law had been at St. Vincennes and had attended at the meeting with the Virginians, where he had informed them that the Ouiattanon and Quiquaboe (Kickapoo) Chiefs would come down to hold a conference with them, which however was false – That 'twas he who had persuaded the Ouiattanon Indians to accept a flag from the rebels, that seeing the French settlers at St. Vincennes and Ouiattanon on good terms with them, he was at a loss how to act as, at Detroit I had told the Indians, if the Americans attempted an inroad into their country, it was their busyness (sic) immediately to repel them – That at a loss how to act they earnestly awaited my arrival –

I spoke to the subject, pointing out the many contradictions evident in the speeches and actions of the Virginians –

Quiquapouhquaa added, that as Monsieur de Celeron had disappeared, they were without an adviser, and could not determine how to act –

We got to our encamping ground an hour before Sunset –

The Chiefs being assembled at my tent, I acquainted them with the orders of the day, and mentioned some particulars I was desirous the Indians should attend to, as having some light canoes advanced some distance from the main body to communicate any alarm -

That what women and Children they had should be kept out of our way of danger in canoes apart – that they would from that time desist from firing at Game – That they would cease singing to their Gods at night – To examine the state of their arms and give into the Gunsmiths any that wanted repair – that the Shawanese and Quiquaboes were the properest to go on the reconnoitring parties, to procure intelligence at St. Vincennes – That on a nearer approach to the Enemy, I should instruct them how to act, and should at the same time be ready to attend to their proposals –

That I had left directions at Detroit for the care of the families of those who had followed me –

That I should find means to inform the French inhabitants they must expect no favor if found in arms on the side of the Rebels – in such a case no distinction would be made. –

11th. It had frozen very hard last night, much ice floating in the River, apprehensive of the river being renderd (sic) impassable for boats –

Read to the men orders of yesterday respecting the manner in which they must act, in case of an attack on the boats from the land – set off about nine o'Clock in the morning, arrived about 2 afternoon at the wintering ground of the Peankashaas – went ashore and saluted the old chief called la Mouche noire (the black fly) – we were received with the beating of a drum, and the usual ceremony of firing small arms on our approach -- They were told that we could not conveniently talk with them at that time but as we should encamp but a little below their Village I had something to say to them – Towards the close of day about 20 of them came down – I repeated to them nearly what I had said to the Ouiattanon Indians and further that they had not any thing to apprehend from those Tribes that accompanied me, as the procuring their tranquility was chiefly what had brought us thro' their country – smoaked (sic) in the Calumet of the Quiquaboes –

The Black fly said they had expected us for two months past, and were rejoyced (sic) at our arrival – That they were in a lamentable condition, having on every side cause for apprehension, that they could not forsee (sic) which should have the upperhand the Virginians or we, but hoped we might, for should the Americans, the Indians must be completely wretched –

That they had no cause to lament the English Government having succeeded to the French, that I had given them courage by my speech, and they hoped I should inspire their young men with prudence –

They then presented me a Calumet, requesting that whenever I should smoak in it, I might think on them and have pity on their women and children –

Another man with a cut nose (called la petite morve) said he would follow me to war, that he and I should divide the prisoners at St. Vincennes, as there but were two there, meaning that there were but two rebel Officers –

We were encamped a little above a place called la Soupe, from the boiling eddies in the river.

12th. Had a talk with a young chief of the Peankashaas who told me, he should not be surpsized (sic) if I had a bad impression of their Nation as some of them listened to the Virginians, (hinting at the old Tobacco and his Son) that those of his Village had not acted a like part, that he meant to follow me by land having a dependence on me but that the promises of the Virginians were but as wind &ca

I answered him, that I wished him and his people to consider the king of England as their father, that while they continued faithfull they might depend on his protection – saluted them with 3 Guns –

About noon we discovered a raft on the West side of the river with a fire kindled on it, the Indians immediately put ashore, we followed, and the men were soon drawn up making three fronts and leaving a reserve to guard the boats – The Indians followed a Track for some distance but returned without making anything of it – we concluded it was some scout from the Enemy –

The usual guards and pickett were posted and we encamped as it began to rain –

13th. Before day went to the encampment of the Savages, and talked with them about sending a party on each side of the river to reconnoitre and a canoe ahead, they accordingly did so, P.l de Quindre and Pierrot Chesne accompanied them – They had orders not to stop till they got low enough for our next encampment –

It blew hard with some snow, we lay by, the Indians were sent out to hunt, and the Carpenters made a new Axle tree for the 6 poundr (sic).

In the evening a Pouteouattamie returnd (sic) from hunting who said he had discoverd (sic) the tracks of 5 horses –

The Officers of the picquet had orders to detach four men from each flank who were to take a circuit in the Woods half an hour before day as a kind of Patrole, to meet at the distance of ½ of a mile and return together to their pickett –

As I thought the Enemy would certainly endeavor to get a knowledge of our numbers, and for that purpose would send a spy to count our fires when we should quit out encampment I had purposed leaving a party of Indians concealed near our camp in hopes of making a prisoner, I had horse bells which they might make use of to entice any hunters that might be abroad & mentioned this to Chamintawa and Egushewai who approved it – It was however neglected.

Kissingua went off in a mift taking a pirougue with him down the river. I conceived he meant to get a prisoner or other ways strike some stroke at St. Vincennes before our arrival. But on the 14th we overtook him, and no notice being taken of him he returned to camp –

Three old Miamis Indians, who had struck thro' the woods from Terre haute, came to the river side and were taken in greatly fatigued and very hungry having lost their way -

The advanced party did not make any discovery –

An Officer of the Indian department with a Serjeant and 7 men to go from the pickett guard at dawn of day to look for Tracks and reconnoitre the ground – Hole pins to be muffled – Went at night to the Indian fires, told the chiefs I was not prompted by idle curiosity to pry into their ceremonies. That I highly commended their praying to the great Spirit, that he probably was pleased with their adoration, since among them all, there was not one sick man – One of the chiefs thankd (sic) me for my visit and said, who is there on earth that does not adore the Master of life, the giver of all things, all who consider the various productions of nature, must worship the supreme Lord –

The Priest at one of their camps stood at some distance from their fire, with his face toward the Wood having his budget hung upon two forked sticks, and in a very loud voice at the full extent of his lungs sung a hymn having a Chichiquoe or Indian rattle in his hand with which he kept time – at certain pauses he howled like a Wolf, snorted like a horse, or imitated the cry of some wild beast or bird – sometimes he utterd (sic) three distinct howls so loud and at the same time so dismal, as might have made the Knight of the fulling Mills tremble –

'Tis a rule with them not to pass before their Natte or Budgett (sic) On encamping they are placed something advance and towards the Enemy, in their water expeditions they are put in the bow of the canoe which they turn with the stern to the shore, that they may not irreverently step over their- Natte – It is a known fact that a Chief (I think of the Miamis) going to war and having charge of the Natte, finding that some one had profaned the ground in front of the War budget immediately drew out a knife and stabbed himself in the heart, such is their blind reverence to their devoted relics and scraps –

The Indians as I have already mentioned, have great faith in dreams – some had dreams that we were to meet the Rebels at Terre Haute, The son of Masgaiash, a Chippowey chief dreamed last night that all the English with some few Savages were to fall in action, that about 20 French were to be killed, and the rest save themselves by flight – I mention dreams as it is necessary to endeavor to find some method to quiet their superstition, rather than mock or insult them – many managements are necessary with them – I exhorted the Ouiattanon Indians to follow the example of the lake Indians in showing humanity to their prisoners –"

Clark did not learn about Hamilton's recapture until January. A few days after the knowledge was imparted upon him by an escaped Indian, Sardinian merchant Francis Vigo confirmed it. Vigo, who had been furnishing Clark's army with supplies from his trading post at St. Louis, had been captured on December 24, 1778 by Hamilton's Indians. Hamilton interrogated Vigo and, though he could find nothing sinister about Vigo, the merchant refused to attest that would do nothing "injurious to British interests," so Hamilton kept Vigo captive for awhile. After a month's detention, Vigo's French friends located near the fort convinced Hamilton to release him. Vigo signed a document that he would do nothing "injurious to British interest *on the way to St. Louis*."

Vigo kept his pledge to Hamilton but, upon arriving at St. Louis, went directly to General Clark at Kaskaskia. On February 29, 1779, Clark and his army made their dramatic surprise attack and recaptured Fort Sackville at Vincennes and followed it by attacking Delaware villages on the lower White River. A few months later, the era of English occupation was essentially over.

Vigo's assistance to Clark also involved money. The man for whom the county where Terre Haute serves as county seat was named was not repaid for loans given to the Americans during his lifetime. However, prior to the dedication of the present Vigo County Court House in 1884, representatives of Vigo's estate acquired a bell for the courthouse cupola to honor Vigo's bequest in thanks for the manner he had been treated during his sole visit to Terre Haute in 1832.

VI. THE FRONTIER IN TRANSITION

Fort Harmar, at the mouth of the Muskingum River in Ohio, was completed in 1786, marking the beginning of American control in the midwest. Easterners promptly began to swarm into Kentucky and occupied Indian land north of the Ohio. Clarksville was occupied across from Louisville in Indiana. The second Ohio fort, Fort Finney on the Great Miamis River, was moved down the river to present day Jeffersonville. In 1787, it was renamed Fort Steuben.

The Shawnee nation was displaced by the caucasian invasion and joined Miamis and Delawares at Miamis Town at the head of the Maumee River. The Indians on the Wabash remained hostile and were held responsible for invading and taking captives from Ohio and Kentucky settlements. One Shawnee, pacifist Captain Johnny, spent several weeks in the Wabash country collecting white prisoners and returning them to their homes. Pacanne, the Miami chief at Kekionga on the west bank of the Maumee River, favored peaceful relations with the Americans. Other chiefs located at Miamis Town did not so Pacanne moved to the Wabash, near its confluence with the Embarrass River.

Indian sentiment on the lower Wabash was placid after Major John Francis Hamtramck, who spoke fluent French, took over the command of the garrison at Vincennes, renamed Fort Knox. Indians in The Illinois Country and along the Wabash were passionately anti-British and were impressed with Clark's bloodless approach. The tranquility did not last long. Much to Hamtramck's distress, Patrick Brown and 60 Kentuckians made a surprise attack on Pacanne's new settlement in August, 1788.

Crooked Legs, who headed the major Wea-Piankeshaw-Kickapoo village on the Wabash south of Terre Haute, accepted Clark's representations but the unwarranted American attacks on Wabash villages propelled him in a different direction.

When Miamis Town's occupants refused to engage in treaty negotiations which would require them to give up land north of the Ohio, General Joseph Harmar attacked. The Indian War of 1791 erupted. Fort Washington was built at Cincinnati in 1790; Fort Hamilton and Fort Jefferson were added in 1791 and Fort St. Clair and Fort Recovery followed in 1792. Meanwhile, Charles Scott and James Wilkinson led expeditions against northern Wabash Indian villages. The Indians had some success in these confrontations but Weas and Piankeshaws located on the northern Wabash moved south of *Terre Haute* and some Kickapoo villages moved up the Big Vermillion River, closer to the Grand Kickapoo Village on the Sangamon River. Other nations, including Sauk, Fox and Winnebago tribes in northern Illinois, joined Kickapoos and Miamis in retaliation against the Americans. Occasionally, Americanized Wabash tribes were victims.

Major General Anthony Wayne mobilized an army in Pittsburgh in 1792 intent upon stopping the unpredictable Indian forays on white settlements. His principal target was Miamis Town. The gates of the Fort Miami, recently built by the British at Fort Wayne, were closed to Indian warriors. Following the Battle of Fallen Timbers on August 20, 1794, the Indian antagonists were forced up the Maumee to Swan Creek at present day Toledo. Wayne then built Fort Wayne at the Miamis Town site. The Treaty of Greenville followed a year later.

For a short while, the Wabash was tranquil again. In 1798, Crooked Legs, the Wea chief, even renewed his American alliance with Gen. Hamtramck. A man named William Henry Harrison would change that.

VII. FORT HARRISON

The facts leading up to the construction of a 150-foot square stockade by Indiana Territorial Governor William Henry Harrison en route to confront the Shawnee Prophet on the Tippecanoe River are either well known or readily available. Its construction initiated a new round of hostilities in the Great Lakes area.

It was to become "The Fort of Two Presidents."

Its location was well conceived: about 17 miles south of the "10 O'Clock Line," a treaty line which demarcated the northernmost advancement of white settlements. Harrison's army, consisting of United States regulars and state militia from Indiana and Kentucky, arrived at the proposed site in late September and early October, 1811. The fort was christened on October 28, 1811 by Joseph Daviess. Called *Camp Battalle des Illinois* by Harrison, the army wanted to dedicate the rectangular structure to honor their leader.

When Harrison and his army departed Fort Harrison for his date with history at the Tippecanoe battleground, he placed the fort under the command of Lt. Col. James Miller. Miller later gained considerable fame at Lundy's Lane during the Battle of Niagara ("I'll try, sir!") and was appointed Governor of the Arkansas Territory.

On November 7, 1811, Harrison ordered the offensive action to take advantage of Tecumseh's absence. Prophetstown, like Miamis Town, was a group of villages. In addition to Tecumseh's Shawnee band, there were Kickapoos, Potawatomis, Winnebagoes, Sauks, a few Creeks and some dissident Wyandottes located there. Though the Americans claimed victory, they also suffered the greater casualties. The battle became a symbol for both sides. The War of 1812, declared eight months later, became an Indian war in the Great Lakes area. Fort Harrison was an important post in the conflict.

Capt. Josiah Snelling, for whom Fort Snelling, Minnesota was later named, assumed command of the U.S. Fourth Infantry at Fort Harrison on November 14, 1811. Lt. Col. Jacob W. Albright directed the U.S. 7th Infantry stationed there. Snelling was named permanent commander and served until Capt. Zachary Taylor arrived in early May, 1812.

Taylor commanded the fort during the 12-day September, 1812 siege which, recently, has been recognized by a prominent historian as the "first American land victory" of the War of 1812. It brought him congressional appreciation (May 15, 1814), national fame and, eventually, became the 12th President.

The Battle of Fort Harrison embraced the ingredients of theatrical production: suspense, trickery, courage, drama and pathos; nearly 600 attacking Indians versus 15 healthy soldiers; women and children assisting in the defense. The American "victory" which resulted was intangible but extremely significant to a bumbling cause. Newspapers throughout the east published Taylor's detailed report. It was inspirational.

In October, 1812, General Samuel Hopkins led a force of about 2,000 troops from Fort Harrison on an expedition against hostile Indians. His troops mutinied and he returned home in embarrassment. In November, Hopkins made a similar effort with 1,250 men but it was hardly more successful. Prophetstown and deserted Winnebago and Kickapoo villages on Wild Cat Creek were destroyed but 16 American were killed. Ensign John Weaver was the designated commandant at the fort in late 1812 and served in that capacity into 1813.

During 1813 and 1814, companies of U.S. Rangers occupied the fort. Their responsibilities included the protection of Fort LaMotte, a small blockhouse located near present Palestine, Illinois. Colonel William Russell used the fort in July, 1813 during a four-week raiding interval of Miami villages on the Wabash. Capt. Williamson Dunn, who headed the crack "Dunn's Rangers," was acting commandant in 1813 during two intervals. Later, Dunn became state representative, Speaker of the Indiana House, Register of the U.S. Land Office in Terre Haute (1820), and a prominent judge in Jefferson County. Dunn donated land where both Wabash College in Crawfordsville and Hanover College in Madison are located.

In October, 1814, Lt. James Curry of Capt. James Biggers' Rangers briefly served as acting commandant. He was succeeded by Capt. Pierre Andre and Capt. Hyacinth Lasselle, both with Ranger companies, Lt. Frederick Shoults, Lt. Enoch Blasdel and Lt. Joseph Morrison, not necessarily in that order.

According to Fort Harrison lore, Lt. Shoults had an affair with a soldier's wife at the fort and, due to residents' demands, was barred. One version places the incident in 1812, immediately before Taylor's arrival and proposes that, if Shoults had not been evicted, history would have been altered.

Lt. Morrison was unpopular with the fort's contractor, Isaac Lambert, and did not stay long. Lasselle, as we shall see, later had even a greater impact upon the settlement of the area as a founder of the village of Terre Haute.

On November 7, 1815, Gen. James Miller, the former Fort Harrison commander who had been promoted as the result of his outstanding service, named Major Willoughby Morgan as permanent commander of 160 Riflemen located at Fort Harrison. Morgan was replaced by Major John T. Chunn on May 19, 1816. Chunn served two stints as commandant and was in charge when the post ceased to be a military post in late 1818. In the interim, Major Robert Sturgis served from July 4, 1817 to February 10, 1818. Both Sturgis and Chunn retired here and Chunn founded a settlement in 1820 north of Terre Haute, now known as Universal, Indiana but formerly called "Chunn's Ford."

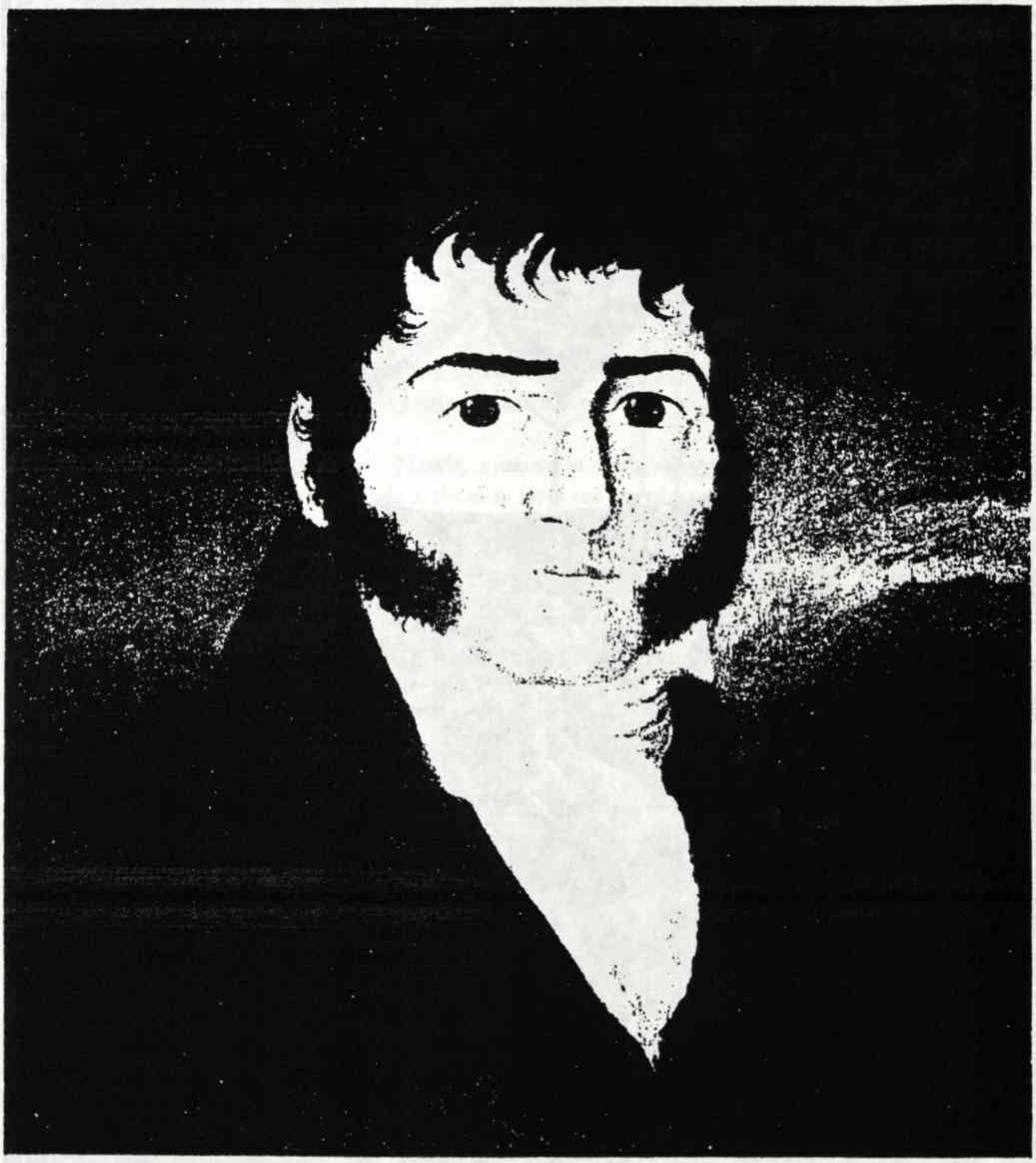
At a festive July 4, 1817 dinner at Fort Harrison, celebrants recognized the future of the new state with this toast:

> "INDIANA – Another star upon the national banner, just rising into importance -- May she always unite simplicity of manners with virtuous firmness and energetic patriotism."

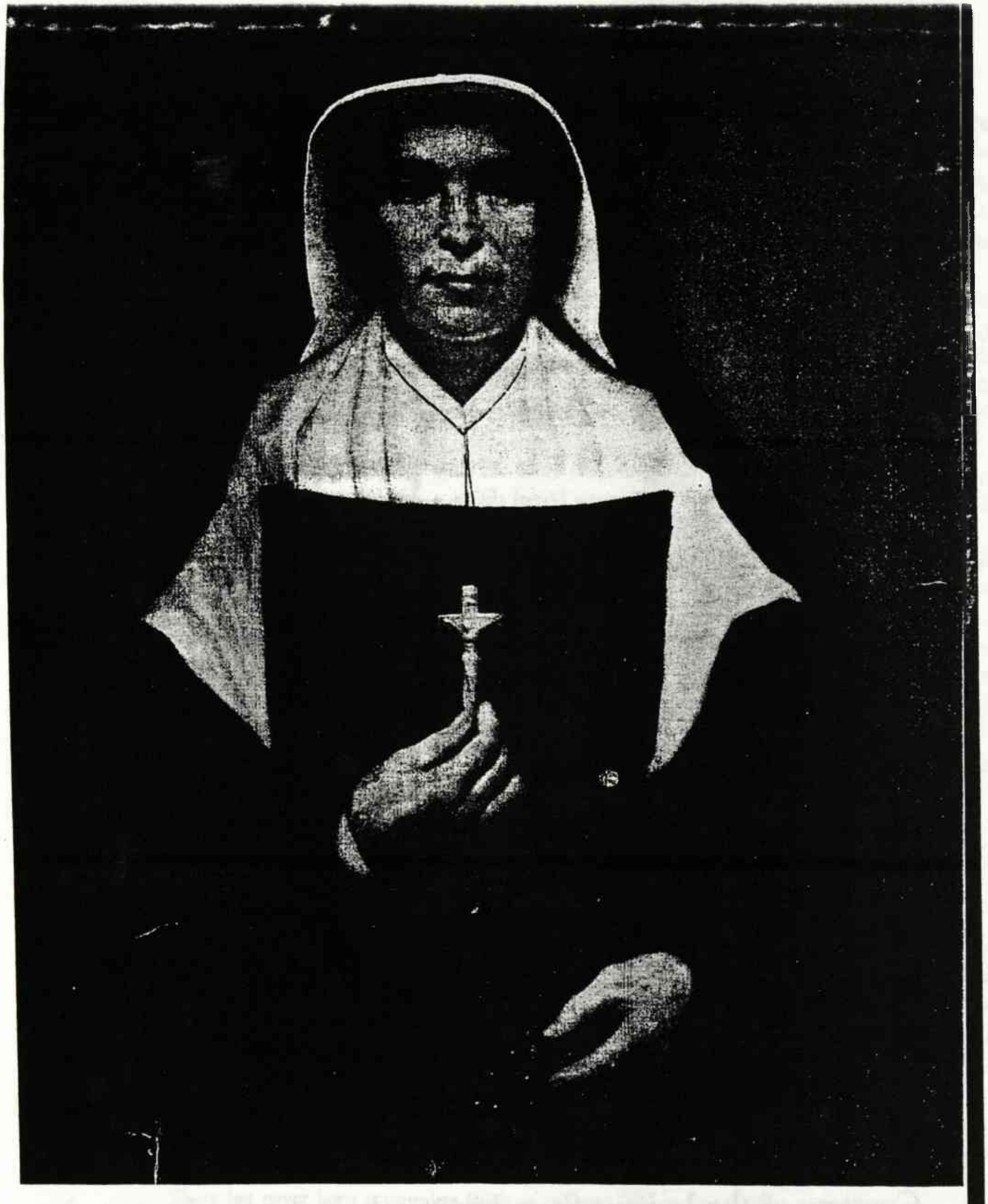
The exact date Fort Harrison ceased to become a military post has not yet been determined. There is reason for the confusion. After it was closed as a military post, it served as an Indian agency. At least two treaties with the Kickapoos were negotiated at the Council House near the stockade under the Indian agency conducted by Benjamin Parke. It was used for governmental purposes until at least 1822. The 1819 treaty, ironically, was signed by Pakoisheecan, the Kickapoo who acknowledged igniting the fire which nearly destroyed Fort Harrison on the night of September 4, 1812.

Several efforts have been made to have the fort declared a state park and, even, a national historical park. Those efforts have failed and, in January, 1919, the site was purchased by the Fort Harrison Country Club. It is now the location of the Elks' Country Club of Terre Haute.

There has never been a complete study of the activities at Fort Harrison though a plethora of unpublished source documents are available for the persistent researcher. Like may other aspects of Indiana and Terre Haute history, the complete story has never been told.



6. Lewis Peckham: Portrait of Hyacinthe Lasselle
Courtesy of the Indiana State Library, Indianapolis (page 17)



Oil Painting at Saint Mary-of-the-Woods from the Daguerreotype of 1855

MOTHER THEODORE GUÉRIN
1798-1856
Foundress of Saint Mary-of-the-Woods

"There was in her whole person an extraordinary charm. No one knew her without loving her, and no one ever spoke to her without carrying away a lasting remembrance."

LEON AUBINEAU

VIII. THE SETTLING OF A VILLAGE

On June 20, 1790, Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the Northwest Territory, defined Knox County around the village of Vincennes and appointed officers. It was the first effort to provide governmental services in the western country in two decades.

Prior to the erection of Fort Harrison, several small settlements appeared in present day Vigo County. One even assumed that name and, later, was called "Old Terre Haute." At that time, the area was a part of Knox County of The Indiana Territory, an identity it retained even after Indiana became a State.

In September, 1816, five men organized The Terre Haute Company in Vincennes. Using the services of engineer-surveyor William Hoggatt and lawyer Joseph Kitchell, Abraham Markle, Hyacinth Lasselle, Jonathan Lindley and affluent Louisville land barons, Cuthbert and Thomas Bullitt, directed the platting of new village.

It was an interesting mix. Markle, a native of Ulster County, New York, was the most controversial. Markle moved to Canada in the early 1800s and served several terms in Parliament. During the War of 1812, however, he aligned himself with General Winfield Scott and the Americans. He was a traitor to the government he served and has been labeled such by some Canadian historians.

Major Markle forfeited substantial land holdings in Canada but was awarded the rights to even more land by the United States. He accompanied Joseph Richardson here in 1815. The pair liked what they saw. He returned to New York to bring their families. Joining them were Captain Daniel Stringham, Joshua Olds and Henry Redford and their families. Parenthetically, the Richardson family eventually chose to locate on the west side of the Wabash and became the first settlers in Clark County, Illinois. The daughters married Terre Haute men. The Stringhams' son, Silas, became a Rear Admiral in the United States Navy.

The group, perhaps the first colony of people to locate here during the American era, arrived on July 4, 1816 and, soon thereafter, Markle engaged Olds to help him build a mill on Otter Creek, a few miles northeast of the new village. Tall in stature, Markle was a strong personality in the frontier community. He was outspoken and confrontational in his dealings with those who opposed him. Major John T. Chunn, the commandant at Fort Harrison, was the victim of his ire when Chunn opposed Markle's claims to land contiguous to the Fort Harrison Military Reserve. Markle registered his claim to land around Fort Harrison before Chunn expanded the acreage under military control.

In addition to rights he gathered from the United States, Markle bought other land at the outskirts of the newly platted village. One of his financial sources was Frederick Rapp of Harmony, the adopted son of the Rappite leader. Rapp eventually foreclosed on Markle's mortgages secured by at least 640 acres in the present town of Terre Haute. Chauncey Rose, whose name is intimately connected with Terre Haute's early growth, purchased the land to bail Markle's family out of debt after Major Markle's death. Litigation involving some of Markle's holdings was not resolved until 1850.

Markle had seven sons and two daughters, several of whom remained in the community. Aula Markle, for instance, married attorney (and first Vigo County prosecuting attorney) Nathaniel Huntington, the oldest of two brothers located in Terre Haute who were descendants of the Connecticut governor who signed the Declaration of Independence. Major Markle died on March 26, 1826 and is buried in Markle Cemetery on North Fruitridge Avenue a few miles south of the mill. The Markle family continued to operate the mill for many years but it was sold before it was destroyed in a 1938 fire.

Lindley was a devout Quaker who moved to Orange County, Indiana (where his brother, Zachariah, had already settled), after being an educational leader in North Carolina. The Lindleys operated a mill on Lick Creek. John Lindley was responsible for engaging William Hoggatt who, in turn, employed James Boord. Lindley represented Orange County when the first state legislature met in Corydon. Paoli, Indiana is located on land donated, in part, by Lindley.

Hoggatt's brother, Moses, farmed acreage owned by Shakers in southern Vigo County from 1813 and expanded to Honey Creek, where he operated a post office. Later, Moses Hoggatt served as an Associate Judge when the presiding judge was Thomas H. Blake. He may have assisted his brother in choosing the precise site for the village. Few civilians had a better understanding of the area. William Hoggatt told Lindley that the areas near Fort Harrison, on the north, and "old Terre Haute," to the south, were located on river bends and less desirable to place a village than the platted site.

The youngest son of a furtrading family, Hyacinth Lasselle is believed to be the first Caucasian born at Kekionga and, perhaps, present Indiana in 1777. When he was a child, his sister drowned in the Maumee River when French American Augustin Mottin de la Balme attacked Fort Wayne in November, 1780. The youth returned to Montreal for his safety and education but he rejoined his older brothers when he was 16. Hyacinth soon became popular with the Miamis. He was small in stature but muscular and quick. The Miamis utilized his speed during some of the earliest "track meets" conducted within the confines of the state and gave him the name, Kekiah ("Little Miami"). On one occasion, a belligerent Winnebago placed an arrow in Lasselle's thigh when he was winning an intertribal race.

Lasselle operated several trading posts down the Wabash, including one in present day Vermillion County called LaChapelle. Eventually he joined the United States Infantry and, later, the Indiana militia. He served several stints at Fort Harrison, including one as temporary commandant. As a ranger, he expanded his knowledge of the Wabash country. Few people could match his wisdom and he was well-known throughout the Northwest Territory.

Lasselle finally settled in Vincennes, married Julie Frances Busseron, the daughter of Major Francis Busseron, and operated a tavern and inn. He probably had much to do with assembling The Terre Haute Company investors. Lasselle finally moved to Logansport in 1833 and several of his grand-daughters attended St. Mary-of-the-Woods, founded by the Sisters of Providence on the west side of the Wabash at Terre Haute.

The Bullitt brothers were early settlers of Jefferson and Bullitt counties in Kentucky. Nephews of Captain Thomas Bullitt, who joined Simon Kenton in the early settlement of Kentucky, they owned a 1000-acre tract of what is now downtown Louisville. Cuthbert, the oldest, married Ann Neville, the daughter of General Joseph Neville, a hero of the Revolution and surveyor of the Mason-Dixon line. Young Thomas Bullitt married Diana Moore Gwathmey, the daughter of George Rogers Clark's sister. Their home was on a high bank overlooking the Ohio River.

The Bullitt brothers made several investments in land north of the Ohio River, including much of the present town of Paoli. They became acquainted with Lindley during that venture. On March 17, 1817, they became the second owners of Jackson Mill in Lawrence County, which has become Spring Mill State Park. During their ownership, the Bullitts built a second mill and called it Bullitts' Mills.

Terre Haute's founders located the village on 877.64 acres. The first plat was recorded in Knox County on October 25, 1816. There were 268 in-lots. Outlot No. 3 was donated for a "burying ground;"

several lots was set aside as "Seminary Lots." One lot, at Fourth and Poplar streets, was marked "Church Lot."

Each of the founders assigned to others a portion of their interest in the platted area to others so that, by the time the first lot was sold on October 25, the village was in the hands of 22 people.

Among early Vigo County settlers were the Bratton brothers, William and Robert, natives of Virginia and acquaintances of Daniel Boone. William Bratton had been a significant member of the Lewis and Clark expedition. He moved to Waynestown in Montgomery County between 1819 and 1823, when that area was settled as part of The New Purchase. Robert Bratton lived here until 1838 when much of his family moved to Texas.

Isaac Compton Elston and Ambrose Whitlock, early Terre Haute residents, also moved to Crawfordsville soon after the New Purchase. Elston, an early Terre Haute merchant, was influential in the settling of Crawfordsville, Lafayette and Michigan City. He also founded the Elston Bank, still an important institution in Montgomery County. One of his daughters, Susan, married General Lew Wallace and, like her husband, became a prominent writer. Whitlock, who commanded Fort Knox at Vincennes, was in charge of the General Land Office here until it was moved to Crawfordsvillle in 1823.

John Willson Osborn, like Major Markle, was a Canadian who served in the American army during the War of 1812. Osborn, with a distinguished English military pedigree, first settled in Vincennes and, in 1823, moved to Terre Haute to establish the village's first newspaper. Osborn made an immediate impact in Vincennes, asserting his anti-slavery views in the press. His ideas were inconsistent with the newspaper publisher Elihu Stout so Osborn retired from his editorial position and, with his brother-in-law, lawyer Amory Kinney, initiated the first case in the state to attack the legality of slavery within the State. The subject of the action was Hyacinth Lasselle's slave, Polly.

The suit was not adversarial. Lasselle did not render an opinion on the legality of slavery in the new state. As a result of the litigation, the Indiana Supreme Court asserted that Indiana had the power to abolish slavery, without regard to the manner in which the slave had come into the possession of the owner. Polly was freed. A few years after Osborn moved to Terre Haute (1823) and started the village's first newspaper, *The Western Register & Terre Haute General Advertiser*, Kinney joined him.

Dr. William Carr Lane, the first mayor of St. Louis and, later, like Wallace, Governor of the New Mexico Territory, lived at Fort Harrison for two years where, for a period of time, he served as surgeon general.

IX. TERRE HAUTE BEFORE THE CANAL

Nature's waterways provided the means by which most communities west of the Appalachian mountains prospered. Terre Haute was one of those locales.

Rafts, keelboats and flatboats brought many pioneers here. Upon arrival, the crafts usually were broken up and used for lumber. Keelboats had V-shaped bottoms propelled upstream by men pushing the river bottoms with a long pole. In order to keep from losing headway, at least two men were required on each side of the boat. If the water was shallow, ropes would be tied to tree branches ahead and the boat was pulled by hand, a process called "cordelling." If wind conditions were just right, a sail could be used. Under the most favorable circumstances (which were not frequent), a keelboat could travel about five miles a day. Flat boats were much larger than keelboats and were used to send cargo downstream. They were in common use.

Soon after the War of 1812, the steamboat appeared on the Mississippi River, initiating a revolution in upriver commerce. Each region of the country gained an identity: cotton and sugar in the South; lumber in New York, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Michigan; St. Louis became a fur trapping export center.

Dr. Lawrence S. Shuler was a literate and successful surgeon. A graduate of the College of Physicians & Surgeons of New York, he moved to Vincennes in 1816. Even before he relocated to Terre Haute in 1822, he established a regional reputation for "miracle surgeries." In July, 1817, he described the feelings of those residing on the Wabash River in the *Vincennes Centinel*:

> "The extensive inland navigation of the western country, is strikingly exemplified by the late arrival at this port (July 20, 1817) of the elegant schooner built boat, "Brotherton Enterprise," of six tons burthen, from, Rome (actually Deansboro, New York) in fifty days. This boat left the Mohawk River, on the first day of June last, under the command of Thomas Dean, and is navigated by four Indian men, accompanied by two Indian women and an Indian boy, all possessing habits, manners and education indicative of the most complete and refine civilization. The object of Capt. Dean and company, we understand, is to obtain from the Wabash Indians the cession of a tract of land for the Brotherton Indians, in consequence of an invitation given by the former. They intend to ascend the Wabash to its source, and by short portage, to pass over into the Miami of the lake, by which they calculate to return. The whole route will, they calculate, be performed by the first of September next, making (in the short space of three months including the time spent in curiosity, business and the necessary detention of bad weather), a journey of between two and three thousand miles -- belting the states of Ohio and Indiana, and part of the states of New York and Pennsylvania. In circumnavigating this extensive area, which contains between 80 and 100,000 square miles, they have only to pass three short portages of about thirty miles . . . . The Allegheny, Ohio and Wabash present a smooth and uninterrupted navigation to the head of the Wabash, a portage of nine miles, connects the Wabash with the Miami of the lake, over which Capt. Dean intends to transport his boat, and descend the Miami into Lake Erie. He will coast that lake to Buffalo, New York. In the spring of the year during high water, boats have frequently passed and repassed by water, from the Wabash to Miami of the lake, without unloading.
>
> "With a striking view, does not this give of the future relative importance of the western states. The waters of this country, are generally speaking, navigable to their source, for boats of considerable burthen, and in numerous places, the waters leading into the Ohio, are connected by short portages, to the navigable waters of the lakes -- indeed from

> the Illinois River, boats can frequently, at a high stage of water, pass into Lake Michigan, as easily as from the Wabash into Lake Erie. Had Capt. Dean ascended the Illinois, and thence into the lakes, he would have doubled the length of his route, and circumnavigated twice the extent of the territory which he now will. If the contemplated canal through the state of New York is ever completed, and if the waters of the Ohio were connected by canals with the lakes, I think the opinion may be hazarded, that the states of Ohio and Indiana and Illinois Territory will, in time, become more populous and rich than any other equal extent of country in the United States."

Indiana, Illinois and Ohio offered coal and grain. In 1778, Thomas Hutchins reported, "[t]he *Wabash* abounds with Salt Springs, and any quantity of salt may be made from them . . . ." Salt was found on the Big Vermillion River northwest of Terre Haute. A silver mine was discovered 28 miles north of Post Ouiatanon. In 1816, coal was found 30 miles below Fort Harrison, on the banks of a small creek, and at several others sports nearby. Limestone was found in considerable quantities three miles below the fort. The next year, David Thomas reported, coal was found on the west bank of the Wabash immediately across from Fort Harrison under six feet of soil. Capt. Chunn, the fort commander, sought and obtained government approval to acquire acreage on the west bank for the military reserve.

Indians brought a 28-pound copper lump to Fort Harrison in September, 1817, mined from a bank of Raccoon Creek. Clay, hemp, grapes, rice, hops, tobacco, mussels and "all European fruits" were considered Wabash River products. By 1825, Terre Haute added pork as its primary staple. Next to Cincinnati, Terre Haute was the largest exporter of hogs in the United States.

Where communities were not served by water routes, road building was uniquely important. For many, buffalo and Indian trails were white man's first routes into the interior. A network of Indian traces covered much of southern Indiana. The Louisville-Vincennes road, along the old Buffalo Trace, was surveyed in 1805. A survey from Cincinnati to Vincennes for "Kibbey's Road" preceded even the Buffalo Trace survey. The path taken by settlers between Vincennes and Terre Haute was called the "Wea Trail."

Beginning in 1811, the federal government began building the National Road from Cumberland on the Potomac River. By 1818, it had reached Wheeling, West Virginia on the Ohio. The road attracted enormous traffic but developed into a political football and a source of several constitutional issues and, six years later, it was no further than Zanesville, Ohio. The following insightful comments were found in the October 22, 1829 issue of Osborn and Kinney's *Terre Haute Western Register*:

> "While our country is new, it is an easy matter to locate roads, as publick convenience requires. They should be as direct as the nature of the ground on which they are made permit; and no country affords greater facilities, in this respect, than the Wabash. Through our beautiful prairies, there is no good reason why the traveller should be turned aside from his course; and yet, it is here that he is most frequently diverted from it. As the owners of the freehold choose to enclose their fields, he is elbowed to the right and left; and these things are submitted to, because the level and open surface of the country enables the traveller to pass with little other inconvenience than the increased distance . . . . The time will come when our roads will resemble the great thoroughfares of the east . . . . When shall we prepare for this state of things? Shall we do it now when land is comparatively worthless; or shall we wait until the evil shall exist without remedy? Imagine the expense and difficulty with which a road can be widened, in the most populous parts of our country; and the question will be presented in its true light. In this we must act for posterity, if we do our duty."

In New York, De Witt Clinton, mayor of New York City, spearheaded those urging the feasibility of constructing the Erie Canal, an interior waterway which linked Buffalo on Lake Erie to Albany, the state capital. By 1825 the canal had been completed and was an immediate sensation. Tolls received from its use paid off the bonds used to finance it in less than nine years. It was enlarged and deepened.

Other states followed New York's lead, seemingly oblivious to a popular new means of transportation: railroads. The Pennsylvania Canal and Portage Railway, a unusual combination of canal and railroad, failed miserably. The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal in Maryland ran into legal and financial difficulties; it was never finished. Ohio had modest success with two canals: the Ohio and Erie Canal, from Marietta to Cleveland, and the Miami and Erie Canal, from Cincinnati to Toledo. In Illinois, the Illinois and Michigan Canal, from Chicago to LaSalle, Illinois, on the Illinois River, had a few prosperous years. In 1827, the federal government gave a grant for the Illinois and Michigan Canal, the same day it gave one to Indiana for the Wabash & Erie Canal.

While Ohio was building its canals, Terre Haute was concerned about using the Wabash River. On May 10, 1823, the *Vincennes Western Sun & General Advertiser* reported:

> "STEAM NAVIGATION – The Steam boat *Florence*, capt. Donne, arrived here from Louisville on the 2d inst. – after discharging part of her cargo consigned for this place; she proceeded on her voyage to Terre Haute; she has since returned – and is now ascending the Ohio to the place whence she came.
>
> The *Florence* is the first Steam boat that has ever ascended the Wabash."

On May 19, 1824, the *Western Register & Terre Haute Advertiser* reported that it had taken only "four days and three hours" for the *Ploughboy* to reach Terre Haute from Louisville even though the steamer had been detained for over 21 hours. The same year, the nearby town of Clinton, Indiana was founded, named for the man declared responsible for the "New York ditch."

In April 22, 1826, the *Western Register* affirmed that the steamer *American* made it all the way to Lafayette while, during that season, the *Highland Laddie* went up the Vermillion River to Grondyke's Mill in Eugene, Indiana. In March, 1827, the *American* returned and navigated as far north as Covington. The next year (May 17, 1828), the Vincennes newspaper related:

> "The steam boat Cumberland, from Shawneetown, arrived at this place on the night of the 9th inst. discharged part of her freight, and left for Terre-Haute, at 3 o'clock on the morning of the 10th – Came too at this place on her passage down, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon of the 11th – having performed the trip in 35 hours, from port to port."

Until the National Road reached Terre Haute, commercial travel was limited to stage coach. James Foyles began a regular stage run between Vincennes and Terre Haute during the summer of 1820. It took two days for the 70-mile journey.

In 1834, Terre Haute was connected with Springfield, Illinois and St. Louis by a new four-horse stage which ran twice a week and provided mail service, too. The trip to Springfield cost $8.00 and took three days. By 1837, there was daily stagecoach service from Terre Haute to Cincinnati.

X. THOMAS BLAKE AND WILLIAM LINTON

Two men who were to have a statewide impact during the canal era moved to Terre Haute soon after the first platted lots were sold. Though there were other important residents here, some who gained national eminence, none can transcend the importance of the pair at the local or state level, particularly regarding the Wabash & Erie Canal.

Thomas Holdsworth Blake had an affluent childhood in Calvert County, Maryland, where he was born June 14, 1792. The son of Dr. James Blake, his two brothers patterned themselves after their father: both were physicians. After serving with the District of Columbia militia in the War of 1812 where he was described as "a soldier of great enterprise, intrepidity and even recklessness of danger," he chose to move to the west. His presence at Vincennes in 1816 made an immediate impact. His deportment demanded respect.

Within months of his arrival he was elected the Prosecuting Attorney of Knox County. When the state legislature first met in Corydon, it chose Blake as one of Indiana's first three electors. When the Indiana Supreme Court convened for the first time, Blake was present to argue a case. When the First Circuit Court was established, Blake was named the first presiding judge.

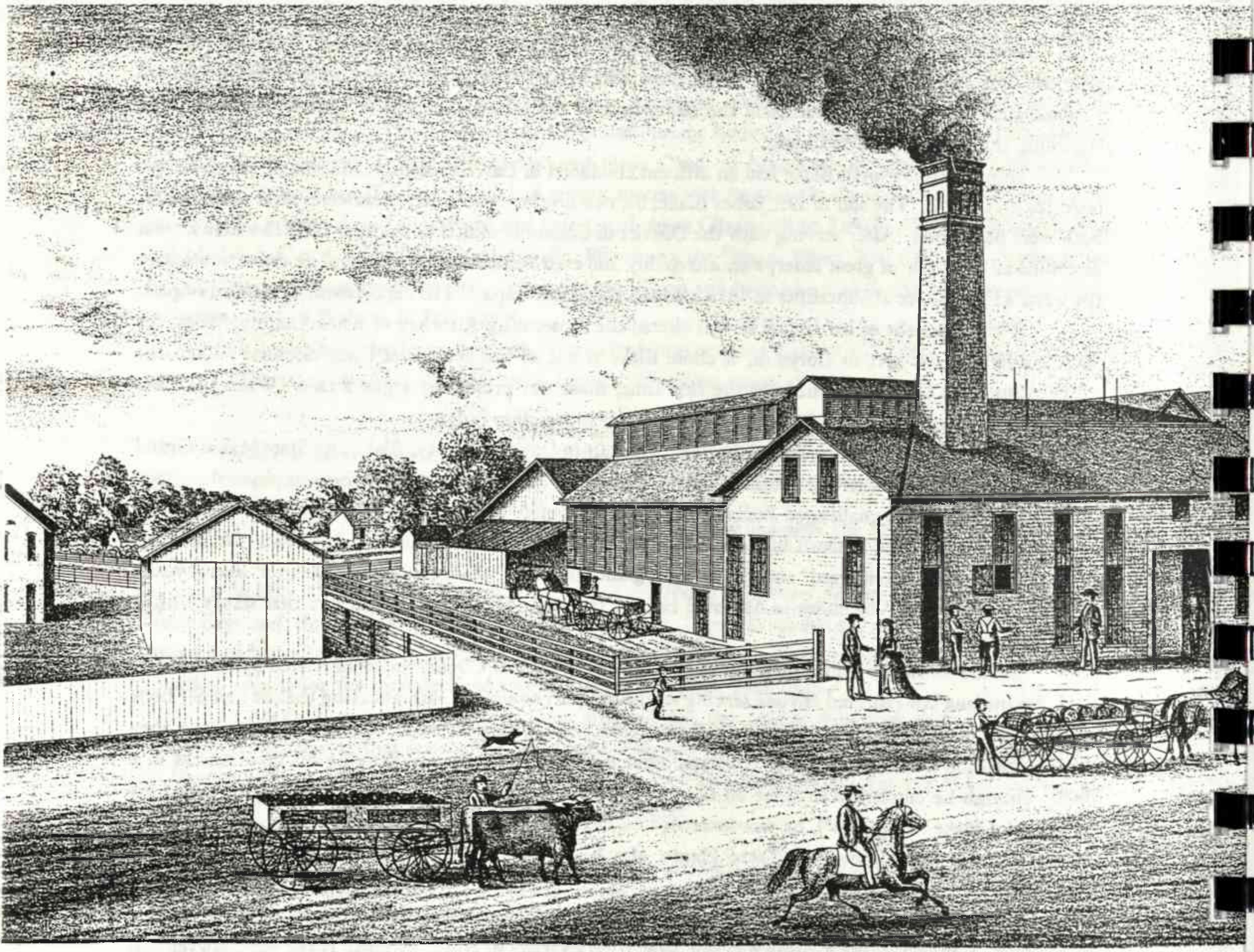
On July 15, 1818, in Liverpool, Indiana, a hamlet in Daviess County, Blake and State Mason Grand Marshal Alexander Buckner had a confrontation. Details are sketchy but it seems there was physical contact. A few days later, Blake challenged Buckner to a duel. The offer was accepted. The showdown took place on the west bank of the Wabash in Crawford County, Illinois, outside Blake's jurisdiction. No one was injured but "fire was exchanged" and the incident gained publicity which shadowed Blake for several years. Buckner moved from Vincennes to Missouri later in the year. He eventually became that state's United States Senator.

Blake's service as President Judge of Indiana's First Judicial Circuit was abbreviated by the historic duel. An Indiana law required anyone serving on the judiciary to sign an oath asserting that he had not been engaged in a duel "in the past two years." Rather than perjure himself, Blake signed an oath only to obey the Constitution and the statutes of the state, omitting the formal language denying his involvement in a duel. Though he continued to serve on the bench until a special election was held (opponents called his service "the Blake exemption"), he was succeeded on December 17, 1818 by George Washington Johnston. In the interim, Blake moved to Terre Haute, also having served as United States Attorney while in Vincennes.

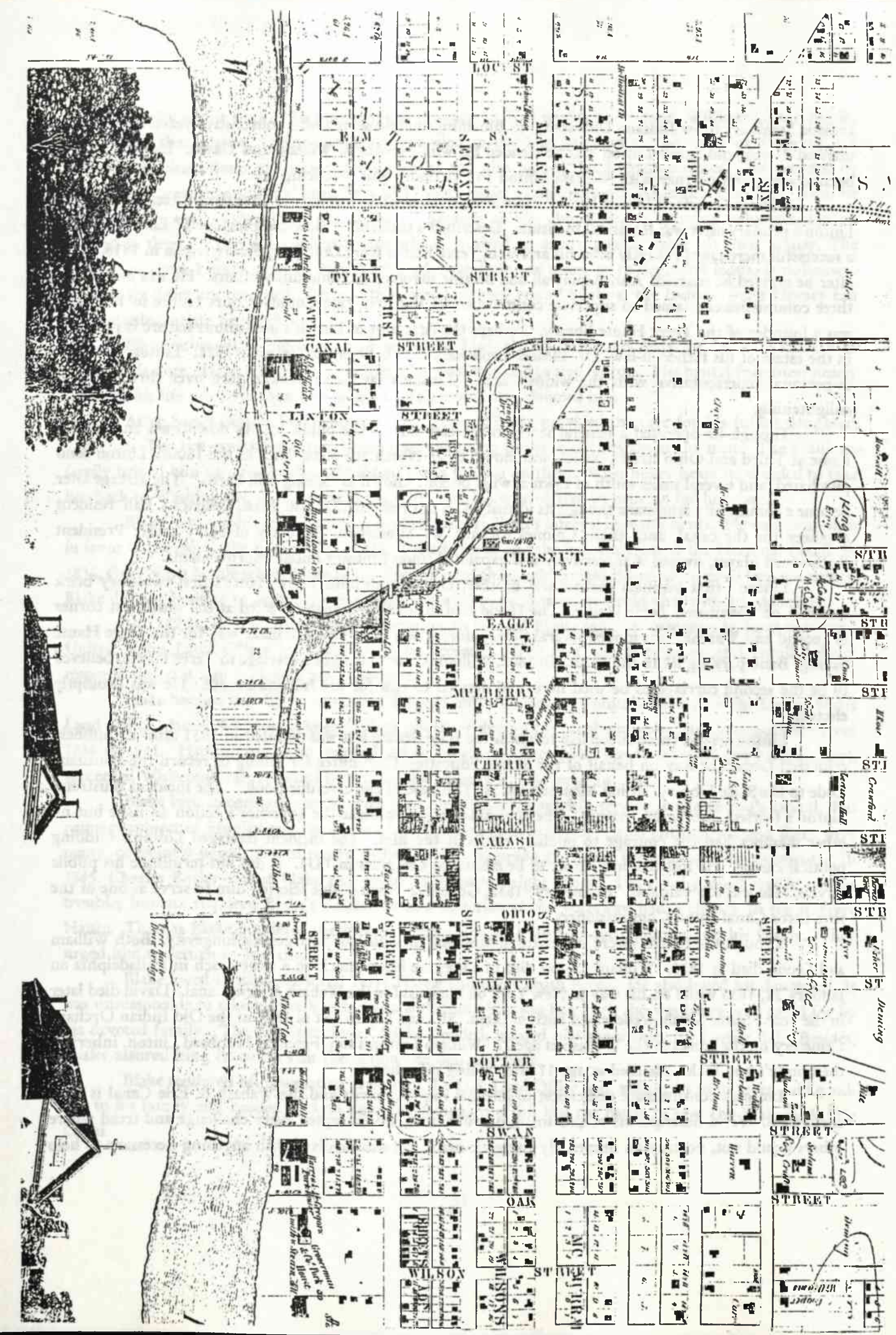
Blake found the new community to his liking. The village already contained a variety: easterners, southerners, Canadians, the wealthy and the poor, from a variety of ethnic groups. Blake was a lawyer and a scholar. Though others may have had more resources, Thomas H. Blake was an impressive, meticulous nobleman: elegant, urbane, courtly, polished and refined; a silk stocking.

In 1818, Blake was elected to the Indiana House in his first effort. He moved to the state Senate two years later but returned to the House in 1823. During that term, he is credited with introducing the "first bill relating to the Wabash & Erie Canal." In his first effort at Congressional election in 1824 he was defeated by Ratcliff Boon, Indiana's second governor. Two years later, however, he beat former Governor Boon soundly. Meanwhile, Gov. James Brown Ray selected him as his Aide de Camp. In 1827, he was elected as an Adams Republican to serve in the Twentieth Congress.

In 1829, Blake became the first Vigo County resident to be elected to the board of trustees at the



A. MAYER'S LAGER BEER BREWERY.
POPLAR ST. WEST OF CANAL BRIDGE, TERRE HAUTE, IND., Nº 1 LAGER BEER, CONSTANTLY ON HAND.

W A B A S H
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EAGLE
MULBERRY
CHERRY
WABASH
OHIO
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OAK
WILSON
MC GUIRE
STREET

Indiana Seminary (now Indiana University) in Bloomington and served nine consecutive years. In 1830, he married 21-year old Sarah Linton and befriended his wife's brothers, William and David. By 1833, Blake became a business partner with William Linton and virtually quit practicing law.

William Crawford Linton became more affluent than Blake but did not have the genteel personality. Linton's primary asset was intestinal fortitude. Described a frail and "yellow-complexioned," Linton became a successful merchant promptly after his arrival in Terre Haute from Lancaster, Pennsylvania in 1818. Soon after he arrived he married Ann Aspinwall and became involved in community affairs. He was one of the three commissioners named to supervise construction of the first Vigo County Court House in 1822 and was a founder of the Terre Haute library. Perhaps the first hint of Linton's meticulous nature is reflected in the estate of his father-in-law, Dr. Eleazer Aspinwall, which he opened in early 1821. Linton served as co-personal representative with the widow, Eliza. Linton's fastidious bookkeeping over three years is enlightening.

Though he operated a general store on the east side of the public square downtown and built a home at Third and Ohio streets (which was moved to 25 North 5th Street later in the 1800s), Linton soon purchased land several miles south of town at what became known as "Spring Hill Farm." The acreage later became a community landmark though its identity does not rest with Linton. First, William J. Ball, resident engineer for the canal, and, then, Colonel Richard W. Thompson, Secretary of Navy under President Rutherford Hayes, owned it successively and expanded upon Linton's initial improvements.

Linton's first business partner was brother, David, who built Terre Haute's first two-story brick mansion on downtown Terre Haute. The David Linton home, originally erected at the southwest corner of Second and Wabash, was moved several times before it was demolished to make way for the Terre Haute Savings Bank parking lot in the 1950s. In 1827, William Linton brought a carriage to Terre Haute, believed to be the second carriage to be used here, and decided to run for the Indiana Senate. He was promptly elected.

Linton served three successive terms in the state Senate but was defeated in 1831 after he publicly criticized Governor Ray on behalf of the Senate Education Committee for failing to return the Louisiana Code to the State Library. It has been punned as "The Case of the Overdue Book." The incident illustrates Linton's fearless, foolhardy, nature. The committee chose to make the governor's action an issue but no other member had the courage to publicly confront the him. The incident damaged Linton's budding political career. He lost his only effort to be elected to Congress in 1833. It did not terminate his public service. He was too valuable. In January, 1832, Governor Noah Noble selected him to serve as one of the first three Canal Fund Commissioners.

Though the Lintons were successful in business, they did not have genetic longevity. Both William and David died in 1835. William Linton died of a massive heart attack on a stage coach in Philadelphia on January 31, 1835 while on his way to New York on business for the Wabash & Erie Canal. David died later in the year. Sister Sarah predeceased both of them. She was laid to rest in 1831 in the Old Indian Orchard Cemetery on the banks of the Wabash at age 22. William Linton's son, Freeman Hubbard Linton, inherited the family's bad luck. He died at age 11 after falling off a horse.

Linton's consummate dedication to internal improvements and the Wabash & Erie Canal is well-chronicled. Vivid descriptions of this small, nervous man, who accepted every challenge and tread where others would not, portray an immensely energetic man. He was involved with anything necessary to help his community or his state. His integrity was impeccable. If it needed to be done, William Linton did it.

For that reason, Linton frequently traveled to the East to promote the canal or to boost, for instance, the State Bank of Indiana, for which he was also named Fund Commissioner. He traveled by horse, stage, steamer and canal boat; he walked when other means were not available. On many trips, he toted heavy specie. Often, he traveled alone. Because he was almost always carrying valuables, Linton refused to sleep on the solo junkets except when he hired an armed guard, using his own money. The number of times Linton went to New York to deliver funds or notes, or to negotiate loans, is unknown. At least six times are recorded. Perhaps the commissioners' record books at the Indiana State Library can further substantiate his work.

No monument is big enough to recognize Linton's magnanimous feats for causes necessary to advance his state. He cared not for publicity. He was unafraid to step on toes. His brutal frankness nearly cost him his life on more than one occasion. His work ethic doomed him.

After Sarah Linton Blake died in 1831, Thomas Blake provided the care for his infant daughter, Glorvina. The law practice was too demanding, requiring travel to circuits about the state. The Dunham family helped him care for her but the infant was a burden on them. With heavy heart he decided to take her back to Washington, D.C. where his brother and his wife offered to provide for her care.

Blake resumed his involvement in his first love: Indiana's internal improvements. He was outspoken in favor of the canal, the navigability of the Wabash River and the improvement of the National Road. In 1836, Gov. Noah Noble selected him to the first board of the newly-created Board of Internal Improvements. Blake did not hesitate to accept duties requiring travel to the East so he could visit with his daughter.

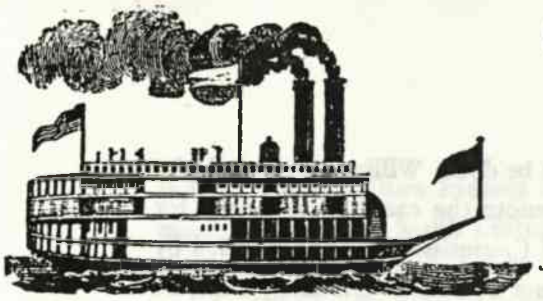
In 1842 Blake was offered the opportunity to succeed Elisha Mills Huntington to head the entire United States Land Office in Washington; he accepted. The post was prestigious and entailed hefty responsibilities; it also took him near Glorvina.

Blake became the third consecutive Terre Hautean to serve as Commissioner over the United States Land Office. James Whitcomb, later Indiana governor during the canal era, served as Commissioner from 1836 to 1841. Huntington, who married Amos Lane's daughter (who was Senator Henry Lane's sister), succeeded Whitcomb but resigned to become the Indiana federal judge in 1842.

Blake kept in constant contact with his Terre Haute home while serving in the nation's capital. His primary subject of inquiry was the status of the Wabash & Erie Canal. Canal enthusiasts, and there were many, constantly urged him to return to Indiana to champion the battle for internal improvements. In 1845, Charles Butler visited Blake and, apparently, hit the right chord: The canal project was in serious trouble; Indiana required Blake's dedication and direction if the waterway had a chance to reach Terre Haute. Thomas Blake pondered the subject, discussed it with his teen-age daughter and his family. They urged him to return to Indiana.

Blake loved Indiana; he loved Terre Haute and the Wabash River. He also loved his daughter. It was unreasonable to take her back to Indiana with him. She was in school; she was being well cared for by his devoted family. The "Indiana ditch," Blake decided, needed him more than his family did. Besides, Butler assured him, he could visit the nation's capital regularly.

Blake tendered his resignation as head of the U.S. Land Office and, with tears in his eyes, said good-bye to his family and headed back to fight the campaign of his life: the battle to save the Wabash & Erie Canal.



D. S. DANALDSON, PR., "EXPRESS," TERRE-HAUTE, IA.

Shipped IN GOOD ORDER AND WELL-CONDITIONED,

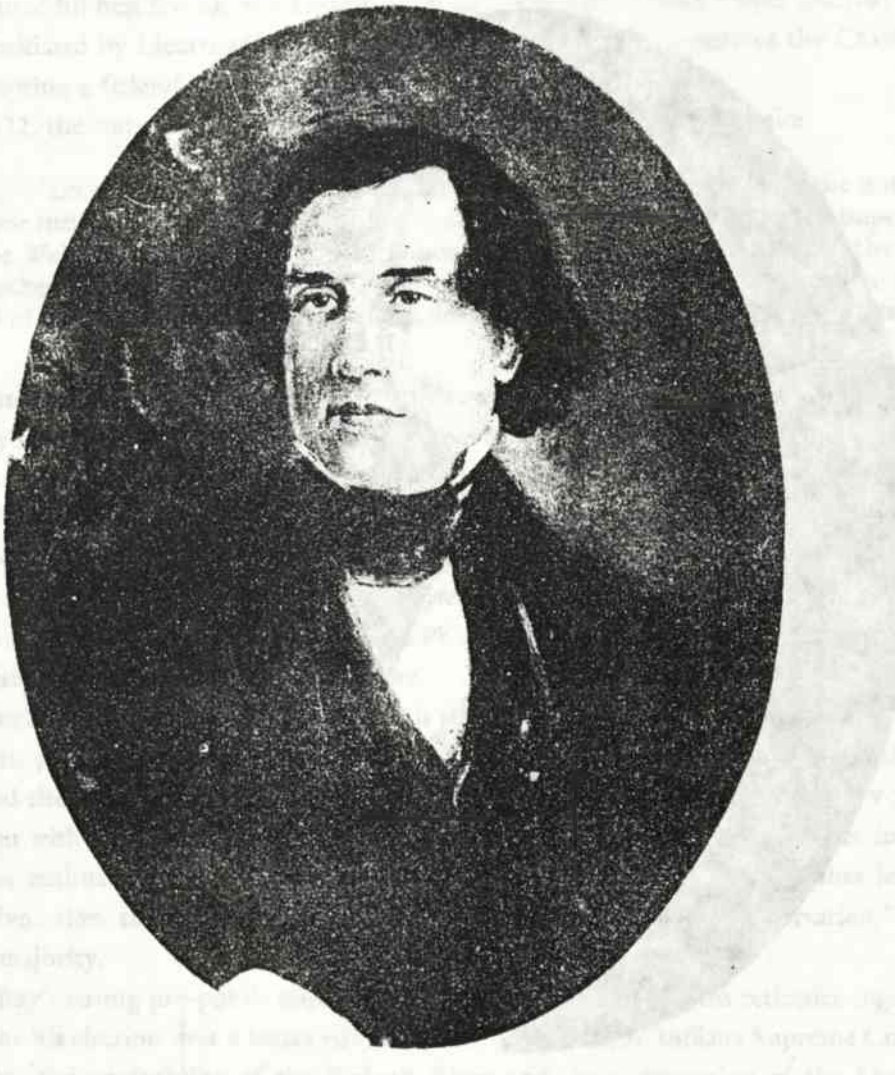
BY Clime Bommenaghr

On account and risk of whom it may concern on board Flat *Boat* No. Three *whereof* Philo Hosford *is master for the present voyage, now lying at the Port of* Eugene *and bound for* New Orleans*, the following articles, marked or numbered as below, which are to be delivered in similar good order, without delay, at the Port of* New Orleans *(the dangers of River Navigation, Fire, and unavoidable accidents, excepted,) unto* Clime Bommenaghr *or* his *assigns, he or they paying freight at the rate of*

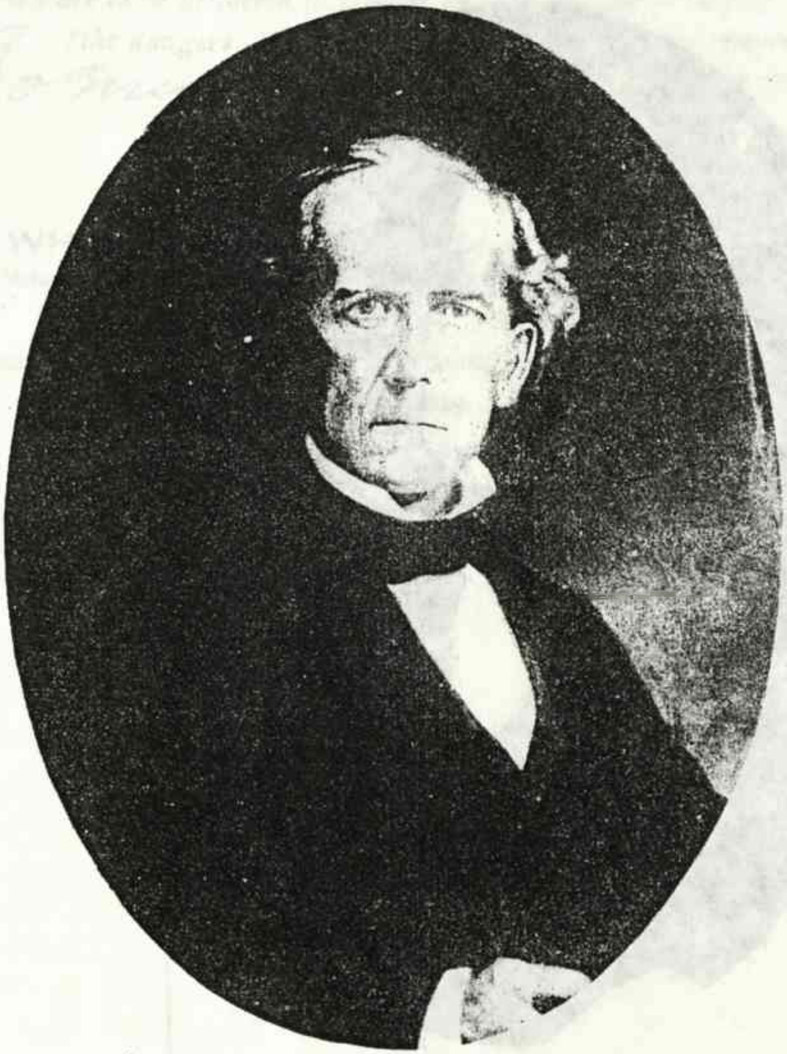
IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF. *The owner, master, or clerk of said Boat has affirmed to* Three *bills of lading, of this tenor and date, one of which being accomplished, the other to stand void. Dated at* Eugene *this* 23 *day of* March *184*8.

MARKS.	PACKAGES.	WEIGHTS.
P H	628 Bbls of Mess Pork 64 " " M. O. " 64 " " Rump " 232 Kegs of Lard	

Philo Hosford



JAMES WHITCOMB
GOVERNOR OF INDIANA 1843-1848



JOSEPH A. WRIGHT
GOVERNOR OF INDIANA 1849-1857

XI. THE WABASH & ERIE CANAL IN TERRE HAUTE

Indiana's first governor, Jonathan Jennings, was an internal improvements advocate. As an Indiana Territorial delegate to Congress, Jennings introduced a resolution toward building several roads in the territory. One of his best friends was Thomas H. Blake. The Terre Haute lawyer testified for the governor in litigation initiated by Lieutenant Governor Christopher Harrison to remove the Chief Executive from office for accepting a federal commission.

In 1822, the state's third Chief Executive, William Hendricks, safely said:

> "Let us not lose sight of those great objects, to which the means of the state should at some future day be devoted – The navigation of the falls of the Ohio – the improvement of the Wabash, the White rivers, and other streams, and the construction of the national and other roads through the state. But to those objects, great as they are, the fostering hand of government cannot to extended, while its finances are embarrassed by state debt."

It was Indiana's fourth governor, James Brown Ray, who first became deeply embroiled in canal business. Ray's parents, William and Phoebe Ray, moved to Vigo County from Jefferson County, Kentucky in 1818. They were significant contributors to the community, helping to establish Riley Township in eastern Vigo County. As a young man, Ray escaped from a prison in Ireland and came to the United States. He eventually moved to Waynesboro, Pennsylvania, where he developed a friendship with the son of the town's founder, Anthony Wayne. Ray accepted the Waynes' hospitality until he and Anthony enlisted in the Continental army together. William and Phoebe Ray are buried in a private cemetery east of Terre Haute, not far from the canal locks at Lockport.

Though Governor Ray's connection with this community in familial only, his position on internal improvements, particularly the establishment of the Wabash & Erie Canal, is worth remembering. Ray tacitly resisted the State's great financial stake in a canal. Yet he was careful how he voiced his position. Ray's problem with the canal was its cost; he thought that railroads might be a better investment.

Canal enthusiasts were unrelenting. Samuel Judah, the respected Vincennes legislator, asserted, without equivocation, that the canal was "superior to all other modes of transportation." Judah was a part of the great majority.

Yet Ray's strong pro-public improvements sentiment, in spite of his reticence regarding canals, was responsible for his election over a better educated Isaac Blackford, an Indiana Supreme Court judge. Roads and highways, the navigability of the Wabash River and the construction of the National Road were important issues early in Ray's administration. Ray's first goal was the establishment of the "Michigan Road," from the Ohio River to Lake Michigan, through country still occupied, in part, by Indians. Sectional jealousies almost defeated the project.

The first canal issue Ray had to address was whether it was possible to survey the canal route until all Indian claims were settled. Ray tackled that issue and, during his administration, Indiana accepted Federal land grants and pledged itself to the construction of both the Wabash & Erie Canal and the Michigan Road.

By the time Noah Noble embarked upon his first campaign for governor in 1831, he was one of the most popular men in Indiana. He was described as tall and thin with a compelling smile, a weak voice and a firm, irresistible handshake. He did not pretend to be eloquent, merely honest and faithful to his duties.

When Noble assumed office, both the Michigan Road and the National Road were under construction in Indiana but the canal was imminent. The final estimates, prepared by surveyor Joseph Ridgway, placed its cost at $1,081,970.

Pending the sale of Indiana canal lands, money was borrowed from the east to aid in the construction. On January 23, 1832, three Canal Fund Commissioners were named to handle the financial arrangements: William C. Linton of Vigo County, Nicholas McCarty of Marion County and Jeremiah Sullivan of Jefferson County.

During 1832, 38 contracts were let, covering 20 miles of canal and calling for total payments of $117,000. The canal board hired Jesse Lynch Williams to supervise construction. On Washington's birthday in 1832, Charles W. Ewing and Jordan Vigus officiated at the Wabash & Erie Canal's initial celebration. Shacktowns, to house workers, began to appear in the Wabash-Maumee valley. The Wabash & Erie Canal was begun at Fort Wayne in July, 1832. It was expected to terminate at the mouth of the Tippecanoe River. However, soon after the work began, a movement was initiated to recommend its extension to Lafayette and, then, to Terre Haute.

At the same time that construction was progressing on the canal, plans were made to improve the Wabash River to make it navigable below Vincennes. President Andrew Jackson opposed a $20,000 federal appropriation for this purpose in August, 1832. Indiana, led by United States Senator John Tipton, kept trying. Jackson opposed another appropriation bill in 1834. Two more bills did not get out of the House. Meanwhile, Indiana and Illinois appropriated limited funds for that purpose.

In August, 1832, the Canal Fund Commissioners, including Linton, borrowed the first money for canal use from J.D. Beers & Company of New York. The commissioners agreed to pay usurious interest rates -- 13.26 percent -- for $100,000.

During Noble's first administration, the Three Per Cent Fund was established, authorizing 3% of the receipts from public land sales to be used to build roads, canals and improve waterways. In effect, Noble touched off an internal improvements mania. The meager funds generated by the fund were spread too thin. Efforts to obtain approval for a state loan failed.

The Whig newspaper of the state, the *Indiana Journal*, encouraged Noble and the citizenry:

> "It remains for the people of Indiana to say whether we shall fall behind our sister states in public spirit and enterprize. So far as we have had an opportunity to mingle with the people we have found them prepared for the commencement and energetic prosecution of a liberal and judicious system of internal improvements. Our state needs nothing but outlets, by means of canals and railroads, to make her a populous, wealthy, and influential member of the confederacy."

On January 31, 1835, Linton died in Philadelphia en route to New York on canal business. Noble appointed Samuel Hanna of Allen County to replace him.

Early in Noble's second administration (January 27, 1836), the mammoth Internal Improvements bill was passed, creating a six-man Internal Improvements Board consisting of the three Canal Fund Commissioners and six gubernatorial appointees. Nobles's original appointees included Thomas H. Blake of Terre Haute who, already, had served four terms in the Indiana legislature, one term in Congress and as Aide-de-Camp for Governor Ray. The board conducted its first meeting in Indianapolis on March 7, choosing David H. Maxwell of Monroe County as its chairman and Williams as chief canal engineer.

Williams had been in charge of canal construction for nearly four years.

Maxwell's daughter married esteemed Parke County lawyer, soldier, Congressman and statesman, Gen. Tilghman Ashurst Howard. A few years later, Maxwell also moved to Parke County where he resided the rest of his life and was recognized as an outstanding judge. Though Howard died of yellow fever on August 13, 1844 in Mexico, his widow, Martha, survived well into the Twentieth Century.

Both Whigs and Democrats supported the new law. It was predicted that tolls and receipts would soon eliminate the need for any taxes. In 1837, reciprocal legislation was passed in Illinois and Indiana governing the improvement of the Wabash River. Thomas H. Blake was named the commissioner from Indiana and M. K. Alexander was named the commissioner for Illinois.

The financial Panic of 1837 substantially contributed to the initial breakdown of the internal improvements system. Banks failed and the State lost $3,000.000. Noble's statewide popularity waned somewhat as the internal improvement system, which he boosted, began to flounder.

When the "Canal Governor," as Noble has been called, finished his final year as Chief Executive, canal construction had reached Peru. His ambition to become a United States Senator was never satisfied. In 1836, he had been defeated by Oliver H. Smith. In 1839, on the 36th ballot, Noble was defeated by Albert S. White, who had lost the race for Congress to Edward Allen Hannegan in 1833. The third major candidate in the most protracted senatorial election in state history was a familiar name: Thomas H. Blake.

Meanwhile, in Vigo and Parke counties, flatboat building was gaining popularity. Used only for downstream transportation, the boats were freight carriers to southern river ports. They were known as "the boats that never came back." Once the cargo was sold, the craft itself was sold for lumber and the rivermen who guided the boat came back on horseback, steamboat or on foot.

On May 25, 1837, William Wines & Company of Terre Haute advertised for 150 laborers to work on the Cross Cut Canal ten miles east of Terre Haute. The pay: $20.00 per month or $1.00 per day if the worker boarded himself. Money was still a problem, however, and the work did not progress. On November 21, 1840, prominent Terre Hauteans Chauncey Rose, Elisha Mills Huntington, Dr. Septer Patrick, John Britton, Lucius H. Scott and Wines were selected to compose a committee to submit a resolution to the 1841 state legislature to urge completion of the Cross Cut. The legislature responded to the call, authorizing $80,000 in six percent bonds to be issued to complete the canal from the Eel River feeder dam in Clay County to the Wabash River. The work was directed to be finished in 18 months. Rose, Scott, Britton, Patrick, Wines and Blake were named as the individuals with whom contractors should deal.

The urgency for finished work was emphasized in a June 19, 1841 editorial in the *Wabash Courier*, published by Thomas Dowling:

> "Flour was selling at Cincinnati on [June] the 13th at $3.75. Price at Terre Haute [is] $6.00! If our Cross Cut Canal was finished, wheat would go up and flour come down in price. The farmer is now at the mercy of one or two buyers and the consumer has to 'stand the racket' the other way. How long shall these things continue? Shall old Vigo remain [a] tributary to others for the prime necessities of life and pay seventy-five percent additional for what she consumes? The law of last winter providing for the completion of the Canal is nearly a dead letter and is suffered to expire for the want of manly effort. Those who have the means won't do anything and those who would do something Can't for a want of them. That's just the whole secret."

In early 1842, the state legislature mandated the completion of the canal to Terre Haute. Packets were running daily from Lafayette to Toledo in less than three days. Before the canal was even close to reaching the city, regular meetings were conducted at the Vigo County Court House to consider concluding the complete project, including the Cross Cut Canal east of Terre Haute.

On February 26, 1842, Lucius H. Scott, an esteemed Terre Haute businessman, was elected chairman of a committee promoting the completion of the canal eastward. Terre Haute newspaper publisher David S. Danaldson was elected secretary. William J. Ball, an engineer who eventually became the canal's resident engineer, estimated that the cost to complete the work was $83,160.84, exclusive of mechanical structures. The estimate was based upon the use of timber rather than stone on all unfinished locks.

On January 21, 1843, resolutions were passed demanding the letting of contracts for the canal's completion. Meanwhile, docks, elevators and warehouses were being built at Peru, Logansport, Attica, Montezuma and towns in between, as canal boats enjoyed considerable export trade. On May 6, 1843, contracts for 76 sections from Coal Creek to Terre Haute were let.

The canal's anticipated arrival in Terre Haute was reflected by visiting Methodist Bishop James O. Andrew:

> "About ten at night [October 13, 1843], we reached Terra (sic) Haute in Indiana; and here I concluded to remain until the Sabbath was past . . . . On Saturday, I surveyed the town, and in the afternoon, rode out about two miles, that I might have a view of the beautiful plain in which the town stands, covered, as it is now, with fine fields of corn, the ears of which hang heavily on their stalks, and are ready for gathering. The town contains perhaps some twenty-five hundred inhabitants, though this is mere guesswork. There are several churches, one Presbyrterian (new school), perhaps the most numerous congregation and membership in the town. There is also a large Methodist meeting house, with a respectable congregation and membership. Terra Haute is, I think, one of the prettiest little towns I have seen in the West. It is situated on the Wabash River, a clever looking stream, which is navigable more than half the year for steamboats; but its prospective importance is still greater, from the fact, that the great Wabash and Erie canal (India-na's most important public work,) is expected to terminate at this point. Should this work be accomplished, and it is confidently anticipated in a year or two, then Terre Haute will be one of the most important points in the State; and many of her citizens who have invested thousands in huge piles of brick and mortar are full of anxious hope on this subject. The final completion of this canal will, without doubt, be an event of immense importance to the State."

The Cross Cut Canal Company, formed to construct the waterway from the Eel River feeder dam to Terre Haute, was organized later in 1843 and anticipated completing the connection in 1844. James Whitcomb, who moved to Terre Haute to practice law in 1841 after serving as Commissioner of the General Land Office in Washington, D.C. and became the Democratic Governor two years later, ordered the proposed canal to be surveyed through to Evansville.

The surveyor began the analysis at the Eel River feeder dam. First, a feeder was planned at Rawley's Mill. Next, it was decided to dam Splunge Creek which would require an embankment one mile long and 15 feet high. The reservoir so created would encompass 3,900 acres. The dam was made 20 feet wide on top so that it could be used as a wagon road.

The western terminus of the canal north of Terre Haute reached Covington in 1846. There it turned to follow the course of the Wabash River in almost a straight line southward. On May 6, 1846, newspaper publisher Thomas Dowling of Terre Haute was awarded a contract for $55,000 to move the remaining Miami Indians in Indiana to designated western lands in Kansas. The figure included salaries for all personnel and all expenses for the Miamis at their new location during the first year. After extraordinary adversity due to the Indians' desire to stay, Dowling used the contract as security for a $6,000 loan and sold the contract to Robert Peebles of Pittsburgh. Peebles later hawked the contract to four men: William and George Ewing and Samuel Edsall, all of Fort Wayne, and Alexis Coquillard of South Bend. Coquillard was the designated "active partner."

Coquillard successfully corralled enough Miamis to fill three canal boats at Peru on October 6. The party followed the Wabash & Erie Canal to its junction with the Miami & Erie Canal in Ohio and, then, passed through Dayton and Cincinnati. There, the group was transferred to the steamer *Colorado* for a trip down the Ohio River. The Miamis reached their Kansas destination in November.

Whitcomb, whose significant Terre Haute residency seems to have been lost to historians, was one of the most remarkable and attractive men in Indiana public life. He had an encyclopedic mind, elegant manners and a charitable disposition. He also was an accomplished violinist. When he became Commissioner of the U.S. Land Office in 1836, he became fluent in French and Spanish so that he could read the land grants before him. While he was the state's chief executive, Indiana was loaded with debt. Upon Whitcomb's recommendation, the "Butler bills" were passed which resulted in the transfer of Wabash & Erie Canal lands for one-half of the existing debt and the remainder was paid by the issuance of bonds at a lower rate of interest.

Criticism of the public works, which only a decade before the state's citizens had demanded, was widespread. Many antagonists were concerned easterners who had purchased the bonds. On April 24, 1845, Robert Dale Owen's March 31 response to the bondholders, originally printed in the *New York Sun*, was republished in the *Goshen Democrat*:

> "It is but too well known, that Indiana some nine years since, misled by the success of similar undertakings in older states, engaged in an extensive system of public works; a system devised without judgment and managed without discretion. The result has been, that of nine different works, which with rash improvidence growing out of sectional jealousies, she undertook to construct and finish simultaneously, not one is yet completed; nor, with the single exception of her Wabash and Erie Canal, yet approaches completion. The State is dotted over with detached fragments of works, utterly worthless and unproductive; deep cuttings, isolated in the centre of her forests, and huge mounds standing alone, without apparent purpose in some remote valley, washed into shape- less masses, year after year, by the action of the elements . . . ."

* * *

> "Has Indiana repudiated even the very bonds abstracted from her by the false promises of broken banks? No. On the contrary, giving her creditors the full advantage of the doubts in this case she regarded their sale as absolute, and recognized the right of payment of those who now hold them."

* * *

> ". . . What measures has she [Indiana] adopted -- what exertions made -- to work through the a debt, which in terms she does not repudiate?
>
> "Nine years ago, at the commencement of her Internal Improvement system, the advalorem state tax on her citizens were *five cents* on every hundred dollars of property. It was gradually increased, first to fifteen cents, then to thirty, and one year (1841) to *forty cents*; being *eight times* the advalorem tax which originally sufficed with a small poll tax,

to pay her current expenses; and that estimated on the full actual value of her taxables; not, as Ohio and some other states, on a mere nominal appraisement, the poll tax however, remaining at fifty cents, except in 1841, when it was raised to seventy five cents for each poll."

Terre Haute hosted an important canal convention in May, 1845, and Charles Butler's name became prominent during those proceedings. At the meeting Butler sincerely predicted that the Wabash & Erie Canal would outearn Ohio's Miami Canal by at least three times, an argument he advanced to urge the state to accept a federal grant of lands in the Vincennes area to permit the canal's completion to Evansville. Another principal convention topic was a Tippecanoe Circuit Court order which enjoined the trustees from cutting through a farmer's field. The action was roundly condemned.

The next year, Butler and Thomas H. Blake, recently back from Washington where he had served three years as the Commissioner of the U. S. Land Office, went to England in the hope that they could convince bondholders to accept long term securities for existing bonds. The pair failed to reach their goal but not all was lost. Blake impressed sophisticated London financial wizards with his cosmopolitan manner and secured his position as an invaluable commodity.

On July 31, 1847, Governor Whitcomb turned the canal over to its trustees. The trustees promptly made several appointments. Williams was named the Chief Engineer of the canal and his brother-in-law, William J. Ball of Terre Haute, was selected as Resident Engineer. At Blake's urging, the canal headquarters was moved to Terre Haute; Blake became the Resident Trustee. Butler returned to New York where he was a liaison man for the creditors. Blake's total dedication to his work is well documented. In addition to managing daily affairs and traveling to construction sites by stage (the closest of which was about 40 miles), he wrote detailed letters to Butler in New York several times a week.

Ball first purchased a frame home at South 6th Street and Poplar. Later he moved to the Spring Hill Farm, once the home of William C. Linton, where he built a mansion which he later traded to Colonel Richard W. Thompson. Ball's first palatial home here was moved from its original site to South 7th Street and Park Street, where it now functions as a fraternity house.

As work on the canal progressed from the north, the *Wabash Express* warned that the remains of those buried in the Old Indian burying ground may be disturbed by the excavation. The City Council appointed a committee to relocate those caskets which had not been transferred already to the City (Woodlawn) Cemetery. Meanwhile, Irish-Catholic emigrants were moving to the area with regularity as construction of internal improvements, including the canal, impacted upon the community. Yet, doubters remained. It took so long to reach Terre Haute that many questioned whether it would ever arrive.

By 1847 the canal was in operation to Coal Creek, near Cayuga, 36 miles above Terre Haute. Meanwhile, an incident transpired which would permanently alter the canal's prosperity. On January 26, 1847, Chauncey Rose obtained a charter for the Terre Haute and Richmond Railroad.

Feeders had to be constructed and, in 1848, a total of 1,780 men were employed at sites from Coal Creek to Patoka on the Cross Cut Canal.

On April 12, 1848, the *Wabash Express* contained the following ad:

> "Proposals are to be received at Terre Haute May 24 for the construction of 40 miles of Wabash & Erie Canal from Terre Haute and Point Commerce in half mile sections-one reservoir, a number of locks, culverts, &c, with the rebuilding of the Eel River dam

and the guard lock. The line to be ready for inspection by May 15 and the plans and specifications by the 20th at the Engineers Office.

> Charles Butler
> Thomas H. Blake and
> Austin M. Puett,
> Commissioners"

Trustee Puett was a resident of Parke County, Indiana. The bids were opened and contracts let on May 31, 1848. Receipts increased that year to over $146,000. In 1849, an Asian cholera epidemic had a appalling impact, halting the sale of land, diminishing tolls, demoralizing workers and killing one of the canal's most dedicated servants, Thomas Blake. Another epidemic in 1850 had comparable consequences.

Blake survived only long enough to learn that canal boats reached his hometown. He was not present for the arrival of the first one. The milestone was worth witnessing, according to the *Indiana State Sentinel*:

> "The Wabash & Erie canal is at length finished to Terre Haute. The boats arrived on Thursday last, from Toledo, with gentlemen on board, of intermediate towns. The good people of Terre Haute rejoiced exceedingly, fired big guns, and gave a glorious dinner to the company on board the boats. Terre Haute, the most beautifully situated town in this State, and perhaps the whole West, will now go ahead rapidly. Her generous inhabitants (barring their inveterate whiggery, of the 'tender mercies' of which we had some experience in time past) will show themselves deserving of their additional good fortune."

Judge Jesse Conard reported in the *Wabash Courier*:

> "On Thursday morning last, our citizens were almost taken by surprise, by the arrival of two canal boats -- *The E.A. Hannegan* and *G.R. Walker*, through the W. & E. Canal from above. The E.A. HANNEGAN, owned by H. R. SMITH, and commanded by Capt. M. ROBERTSON, direct we believe from Toledo. On board of this boat were many gentlemen from towns, and the Wabash above. Among the number, we noticed the Hon. J.R. Porter, Josephus Collett, Esq., Mr. Robert Barnett, Mr. George Thompson, Mr. Jas. Johnson, Superintendent on the Canal, and others, enjoying the first ride on the W. & E. Canal to Terre Haute."

Smith and Robertson hosted a boatload of local dignitaries and "just citizens" on two-mile excursions while a local concert band provided a lively beat. At 3 p.m., the visiting celebrities were given an elaborate dinner at one of the midwest's finest hotels, the Prairie House, opened by Chauncey Rose a decade before. Excessive drink and lengthy speeches were highlights. Blake apparently did not attend the festivities. He was out of town on canal business and exercising his influence to plank the National Road.

Downtown Terre Haute was alive! New stores surrounded Court House Square. The grounds surrounding the court house was covered with locust trees. The north and west sides of the court house were illuminated at night. Prior to the canal's arrival, the city's markets were located in the middle of Market Street (now Third Street) south of the National Road. A new brick market building was constructed on Market Street north of the National Road, near its intersection with the canal.

Blake's sudden death dulled the town's enchantment with the canal for awhile and emphasized the dangers of "stagnant water." Driftwood in the canal basin was accused as having a poisonous effect. The connection between mosquitoes and the disease was not known. Timber floating in the water was the monster. Blake's replacement trustee, Terre Haute's Thomas Dowling, was required to cope with these problems. He did, often at his own personal expense, and the receipts climbed to $157,158.00 in 1850.

Thirty miles east of Terre Haute on the Eel River, the town of Bowling Green, then the Clay County seat, welcomed the canal boat *Cleus* in June, 1850 with a jubilee similar to the welcome at Terre Haute. Two months later, the *Belle of Bowling Green* was requisitioned to transport cargo to and from Terre Haute. While the canal was being feted in Clay County, *State Sentinel* editor Jacob Page Chapman, a former Terre Haute newspaper publisher, naively forewarned its short life. On June 13, 1850, Chapman commented:

> "We were startled, the other day, by the sound of steam cars rolling over the Terre Haute road through the southwestern part of our city (Indianapolis), two or three squares south of the State House."

In 1849 a constitutional referendum sought a convention to revise the state constitution. Future Vice President Schuyler Colfax and others argued that the "past history of our State" is the best argument in favor of an amendment strictly limiting state debt except when there is popular voting approval. Voters agreed. Perhaps the most significant proviso of the new Constitution adopted at the 1851 convention was Article 10, Section 5:

> "No law shall authorize any debt to be contracted, on behalf of the State, except in the following cases: To meet casual deficits in the revenue; to pay interest on the State debt; to repel invasion, suppress insurrection, or, if hostilities be threatened, provide for the public defense."

The provision retains importance even today. Bonds, issued by and through the state, are guaranteed by Indiana tax money. Few realize why or when the provision was adopted.

Most canal enthusiasts paid little attention to other news but, on May 27, 1851, the *Terre Haute Journal* reported:

> "The iron for the Terre Haute and Indianapolis Railroad is arriving. The steamer *Bay State* came up yesterday morning with a full cargo of this article; as did also Louis Wetzel yesterday afternoon."

On June 10, 1851, the *Indiana State Sentinel* said:

> "[T]wo locomotives for the Terre Haute and Indianapolis Railroad came up on the Madison road to this city on last Friday. They are elegantly finished, and display more taste on the part of the builders for gracefulness and beauty than any locomotive we ever saw before. They are entirely new, and are from the 'Boston Locomotive Works.'"

In 1851, Englishman J. Richard Beste arrived in Terre Haute on the National Road with his large family. It was expected to be a short stop. The family was accommodated at The Prairie House, which later became The Terre Haute House. Beste reported that the furnishings and service were as good or better than any that he had seen in the East. The visit, as it turned out, was not pleasant. Dreaded cholera hit most of the family and, tragically, claimed the life of one of Beste's daughters.

The illnesses prolonged the Bestes' stay for months and the Briton later reported at length in his journal, a classic in Wabash & Erie Canal literature, regarding his acquaintanceship with several prominent Terre Haute citizens. Finally, on August 12, 1851, the family departed on a canal boat:

> "At five o'clock in the afternoon, we stepped from the little quay at Terre Haute on board the Indiana canal boat. Three horses were harnessed to a rope, about fifty yards ahead of the boat; they started at a moderate trot; and the town, where we had tarried so long, was soon lost to our sight. No other passengers were on board; and we wandered over the vessel, well pleased with the promise it gave us of tolerable accommodation. The captain, a very young man, was civil and attentive to our wants; and told us that tea would be served at seven o'clock, which there, on that day, was the precise hour of sunset.
>
> "The construction of the canal boat was -- in miniature -- much the same as that of the lake and river steamers. There was no hold or under-deck; but, on the deck at the stern, were raised the kitchen, steward's room, and offices; in the centre of the boat, was the large saloon -- the sitting room of all by day, the sleeping room of male passengers by night -- adjoining it was a ladies' saloon; beyond which again, was a small cabin containing only four berths. This cabin was separated by a doorway and curtain from the ladies' saloon, and on the other side opened upon the bow of the vessel. In it, was a looking glass, a hand basin, two towels, a comb and a brush, for the use of the ladies.
>
> "It was a rule in the boats that no gentleman should go into the ladies' saloon without express invitation from the ladies; consequently, the third little room was sacred to the female sex unless entered from the bow, in which case a male occupant would cut off the ladies from the washhouse. Dr. [Ezra] Read had, however, declared that it was necessary that I should have this small room, in order that I might be secure from the draughts and night air that would be let into the men's saloon at night: and the canal boat agents at Terre Haute had contracted to secure the same for me throughout the length of the passage. Dr. Read had particularly insisted on this, feeling that the slightest chill would produce a return of the illness from which I was, in truth, scarcely convalescent.
>
> "A flat roof spread over the whole of the saloons; and on it was piled the luggage; and here passengers walked up and down or sat to enjoy the view.
>
> "The view, however, as yet "was nought": the banks were low; and thick woods, in which were only partial clearings, shut us in on both sides. I have omitted to mention that the climate of Terre Haute had, of late, been rendered much more salubrious than it formerly was by the flooding of a large wood. Somewhere about here, there had been a marshy valley covered with magnificent timber; but reeking also, with a miasma that poisoned all those around. By the advice of Dr. Read, the waters of the Wabash had been let into the hollow, and the whole valley turned into a lake, flooding the timber as it stood. Fancy such a waster of timber in the "old country" within a short distance of the water carriage! There it stood, rotting away; and, it was asserted that the pestilential vapor no longer arose from this "drained bog," as an Irish emigrant described it to me.
>
> "Our children had wondered where they were to sleep, as there were no visible berths amid the red moreen curtains that hung around the ladies' saloon, to give it an air of comfort in this August weather: they dreaded to have to pass four nights on the floor, as they had done at Mrs. Long's hotel; but they said they were now more used to hardships than they had been before; and they, also, drew comparative comfort seeing a washhand basin and two towels, instead if that amiable American woman's small tin pie dish. The steward, however, soon solved their doubts by hooking-up some shelves to the wall, and laying mattresses and sheets upon them.

> "We were summoned to tea; but, after the good living at the Prairie House [in Terre Haute], all complained of the bad tea and coffee, of the hot heavy corn bread, and of the raw beef steaks.
>
> "I then produced my brandy bottle. Dr. Read had advised me to give a teaspoonful of brandy to each one of my children every night and morning, in the hope of keeping off the ague and fever of the canal: and I administered his prescription regularly as long as we were in the boats. . . .
>
> "'After tea, we all began,' writes [daughter] Agnes, 'a most murderous attack upon the mosquitoes that swarmed on the windows and inside our berths, in expectation of feasting upon us as soon as we should go to bed. But those on whom we made war, were soon replaced by others; and the more we killed, the more they seemed to come to be killed, like Mrs. Bond's ducks: it was as though they would defy us to exterminate the race. At last, we gave up the task as hopeless, and resigned ourselves, as well as we could, to pass a sleepless night.'"

The Sisters of Providence, who located on the west bank of the Wabash at Terre Haute in 1841 to establish a Catholic convent and a women's educational academy, used the canal to travel back and forth to Fort Wayne where they established another school in September, 1846. Until the canal reached Terre Haute, the Sisters would take a stage from Terre Haute to Covington, leaving very early in the morning, and spending the first night at Armiesburg, a settlement on Raccoon Creek in Parke County, where Gen. William Henry Harrison's army quartered en route to the Battle of Tippecanoe. After 1846, the Sisters could transfer to a canal boat there.

The canal took them through the mile-square grant of Christmas Dagenet and his Catholic convert wife, Mary Ann Isaacs, a Brothertown Indian who had been baptized at Terre Haute in 1837. Dagenet, the half-breed son of a French furtrader, was married to Mary Ann on February 16, 1819 by the Irish canaan, Isaac McCoy. At Covington, the Sisters frequently visited the homes of the McManomy and Hetfield families, whose daughters attended St. Mary-of-the Woods. At Lafayette, the Sisters visited the Thomas Benbridge family, whose daughters were students at their school. At Logansport, their visit often was prolonged since the families of several students resided there: Hyacinth Lasselle, Colonel John B. Duret (who platted the town), and Cyrus Vigus, the pioneer founder of a stagecoach operation from Indianapolis to Michigan City. The trip was slow, sometimes taking six days, and costly: $40.50.

After the canal was completed to Terre Haute, it was easier on the Sisters unless an emergency interrupted plans. The *John R. Porter*, a packet boat and a "splendid specimen of watercraft," became available weekly to Fort Wayne in late 1849. The *Albion* made trips thrice weekly to Covington. Beginning in June, 1850, Samuel Doyle's canal passenger line offered trips every other day to Lafayette with lines available daily to Toledo. Once, however, a large break occurred near the canal Basin on North 9th Street and several hundred yards of canal "bottom soil" was swept into the Wabash River. Meanwhile, the Cross Cut Canal opened from Terre Haute to Point Commerce on June 5, 1850.

On April 13, 1852, about 100 feet of bank gave way about a mile north of Terre Haute, providing fishermen with a substantial bounty; however, it paralyzed canal traffic for a week. Nevertheless, revenues reached an all-time high that year: $193,400.

The Sisters of Providence expanded their work to Evansville in 1853, just in time to take advantage of the canal's connection there. The first through boat from Lake Erie to Evansville was the *Pennsylvania*, which arrived in the "Pocket City" on July 28, 1853.

The canal and its towpath entered Terre Haute from the north just west of the Fort Harrison site. It stayed west of Water Street, the town's most western north-south street, until south of Eagle Street. Passengers got an excellent view of some of the fine pork slaughter houses which brought Terre Haute early fame. One of them, Jacob Early's Pork House, occasionally was converted to a theater when celebrities came into town.

Traffic from the north stopped in a basin located between First and Second streets and between Eagle and Chestnut streets. Dry docks were situated on the northeast corner of the basin. A lock close to North 2nd Street let boats pass from the canal to the basin. The artificial channel continued north before turning east along the present railroad track to North 8th Street where it curved to enter Canal Street, now known as 9½ Street. At Wabash Avenue, the National Road, a tall, red covered bridge allowed teams of horses to cross. Separate walks were maintained for pedestrians. On the north and south of the road, wide basins enabled boats to turn after unloading.

The basin north of the National Road was located at the present Hulman & Company site. After the canal's usefulness was eliminated, the city used the bed to install the first city sewers and, then, the canal bed was filled in a piecemeal fashion. On May 20, 1871, it was proclaimed that the stretch between Wabash to Ohio Street would become South 9½ Street. Shortly afterwards, the bed was paved farther south to become the street which runs by the old brewery and Ernest Bleemel's Flour shop on Poplar Street.

After passing Bleemel's, the canal began to change its course slightly to the east, following the present railroad right of way past the Vigo Blast Furnace at Washington Avenue. On November 16, 1878, the newspaper disclosed that the bed had been filled from Poplar to the "railworks."

On December 16, 1853, new canal headquarters were completed on Ohio Street in Terre Haute, between 6th and 7th streets. The two-story facility served as the principal office until January 6, 1865 when trustee Thomas Dowling moved it to the "North Room" at his recently-completed Dowling Hall on North 6th Street in Terre Haute.

By that time, however, the canal's fate had been sealed. In spite of Dowling's tireless efforts, natural disasters and the negligence of employees caused the need for constant repair. The south abutment of the aqueduct over Prairie Creek collapsed. Money was not available for all repairs. It became a question of priorities; some communities accused the trustees of ignoring them.

In 1854, floods damaged aqueducts over Sugar Creek and Raccoon Creek. By 1856, the section from Terre Haute to Evansville had been rendered useless by the destruction of the Birch Creek Reservoir. Tolls dropped from $181,207 in 1853 to $113,000. Expenses for repairs rose. Lighter commercial articles were being shipped by rail. In 1857, the tolls plunged even further and floods in the Wabash River valley caused destruction. In 1858, the Wabash broke over its banks in Terre Haute due to an inundation of Otter Creek, destroying 46 rods of canal and interrupting navigation for over two months. No traffic moved between Delphi and Terre Haute from June 10 to August 26. Interruptions and the fear of disease gave the canal a reputation for unreliability.

Dowling, the resident trustee, bore the brunt of the criticism. His honesty and his character were attacked yet his perseverance was amazing. Dowling had other interests and, easily, could have resigned but he was determined to stick with the project to which he had dedicated himself. In 1859, in an effort to save money, the trustees drastically reduced all employees' wages, including the superintendent, and dismissed all toll collectors. On February 9, 1859, Dowling justifiably said in the *Wabash Express:*

> "Receiving and disbursing for years not less than an average of half a million dollars per annum, on a salary not half of that received by many a rail road President, on a road of one hundred miles . . . I have never considered myself as eating the bread of idleness or as reclining on a bed of roses. I have earned all I have received."

A month later, Dowling and the trustees leased the canal to private interest groups. A group from Fort Wayne took a four-year lease for the area from the state's eastern boundary to Terre Haute. Chauncey Rose, William E. Griswold and James H. Turner from Terre Haute leased the area from Terre Haute to Point Commerce for two years. All were railroad men. Another group, called the Southern Canal Company, took the area from Point Commerce to Evansville for four years. Dowling's critics were happy. Finally, they announced, private enterprise would make the canal profitable.

The critics were silent after 1859 receipts plummeted to $48,278 while expenses were $67,995.

In 1858, a young black man, Pinckley Benton Stewart, moved to Terre Haute to work on a canal boat and as a porter at The Stewart House. After the Civil War, he became acting Governor of Louisiana, the first man of his race to serve as any state's Chief Executive. He added his father's name and is known in history as P.B.S. Pinchback. In 1860, those fearful of the unhealthy presence of the canal caused damage again at Birch Creek, the embankment was cut at the Prairie Creek aqueduct and a tornado caused damage which blocked traffic for awhile. The Southern Indiana Canal Company asked to be relieved of its contractual obligation. Below Terre Haute, the Wabash & Erie Canal was a costly mistake.

Above Terre Haute, canal traffic continued but receipts, though up in 1860 due to a good harvest, were short of projected goals. Railroads engaged in direct competition. The Civil War was receiving the principal newspaper attention as volunteer regiments were formed at Camp Vigo and Camp Dick Thompson; canal activity slowed. Inadequate money was generated for repairs after private enterprise departed. Locks and aqueducts became unstable. In some places, the stagnant water turned green while repairs were being made.

Meanwhile, another Terre Haute lawyer gained statewide prominence. Abram Hammond, who lived in Terre Haute twice during his successful career before the bar and as judge, was elected Lieutenant Governor while a Terre Haute resident in 1856. When Governor Ashbel Willard died suddenly on October 4, 1860, a year after being accused of devising John Brown's scheme at Harper's Ferry due to the involvement of his brother-in-law, Hammond became the state's Chief Executive. His term as the state's Chief Executive was short. Oliver Hazard Perry Morton succeeded him.

After 1863 floods washed out large portions of the canal and its feeder systems, curtailing traffic and causing reliable customers to seek other forms of transportation, the canal was doomed. Traffic stopped on the Wabash & Erie waterway at Armiesburg, in Parke County, 22 miles above Terre Haute, in 1868. An era was over.

During Terre Haute's canal days, the packet boats' arrival was an awaited event. Crowds gathered to watch each boat appear, warned of its approach by a long horn blast and succeeded by a trotting three-horse tandem emerging from around the elevated curve carrying a deckful of passengers. A long tow rope was cut loose as the boat entered the basin and the packet would float diagonally across the basin to John Britton's warehouse, which served as the landing place and pier.

The packet boat had its own personality. Speed was not an issue; the fleetest packet traveled no faster the eight miles an hour. Most traveled much slower: closer to four miles per hour. Horse tandems were maintained at a brisk trot to keep the vessel from bouncing. Passengers expected only pleasant company and conversation, paired with a near-at-hand view of the country: farms, meadows, fields, dense forests, hills and valleys.

Canal boating, for awhile, was a respected business. One unusual venture was a showboat called "The Dixie Boys Minstrel Show." It seated 100 people and thrived in small communities starved for entertainment. The canal became some communities' social calendar.

Terre Haute's last major involvement in the Wabash & Erie Canal was the auction of all canal lands on February 24 and 25, 1876 at the Vigo County Court House. Samuel Barnes Gookins, an esteemed jurist, retired newspaper editor and developer of Strawberry Hill, handled the sale as Special Master. Sitting next to him throughout the proceedings was resident trustee Thomas Dowling, who had served the canal faithfully since 1849. It was his final official job. Dowling died about nine months later, December 5, 1876.

Other auction officials were lawyer-insurance agent George Duy, Judge Gookins' son-in-law who also resided on Strawberry Hill, and John B. Hager, the Clerk representing the bondholders. The auction received little local publicity. Jonathan K. Gapen of New York, who had filed a lawsuit in November, 1874 on behalf of himself and other canal bondholders seeking the sale order, was by far the biggest buyer. Former Terre Haute resident Solomon Claypool, judge of the Indiana Supreme Court, was another prominent buyer but did not compare to Gapen. Details of the sale contained in the *Terre Haute Journal* vary slightly from the *Terre Haute Express*, relied upon by canal historian Paul Fatout in his excellent work, INDIANA CANALS. The *Journal's* rendition said:

> "The first part offered for sale was the line of the canal from Lafayette east to the State line. The first bid was one of $25,000. It was secured by Jonathan K. Gapen for the sum of $66,000.
>
> The conditions were also that it should be sold separately in sections. This was done, the sections being 22 miles each in extent. In this manner, it brought $67,725.
>
> The canal was then offered as a whole, a party from Logansport and vicinity bidding against Mr. Gapen and expecting to make a division afterward to suit themselves. The bids then went up to $85,000, at which price it was sold to Mr. Gapen.
>
> This was the most important part of the work done yesterday. The lands sold were mostly odd parcels of little value, and the total amount including the above did not reach more than $110,000. Of this the canal in Vigo County outside of the city brought over $1,700, by J.K. Gapen; and that in Vanderburg County outside of the city of Evansville brought over $2,700. The canal bed inside those two cities is reserved for private sale."

The following day (February 26, 1876), the *Journal* offered the following remarks in reporting the final sales which included considerable land in Vigo County and the Splunge Creek Reservoir:

> "Thus does the old canal pass into other hands. Without regard or preference as to the ownership, we may say that it is a satisfactory change for while a great extent of land is brought into actual use, the canal bed is still sufficiently unbroken as to serve for purposes of transportation if favorable conditions arise."

The Terre Haute *Saturday Evening Mail* reported that total sales at the auction brought $164,271.73. The *Terre Haute Express* recited a slightly smaller figure. Private sales presumably brought additional undisclosed receipts.

ABRAM A. HAMMOND
GOVERNOR OF INDIANA 1860

XII. THE RESERVOIR WARS IN CLAY COUNTY

The Cross-Cut Canal was the portion of the Wabash & Erie Canal extending from Terre Haute to Point Commerce, now known as Worthington, and was, by far, the most difficult section of the Wabash & Erie Canal to engineer. It was 49 miles long and cost $718,672. It was designed to cross a "summit divide" where the water supply was scarce. South of the Eel River, it was to be supplied with water entirely from the proposed Splunge Creek Reservoir, a manmade body to cover about 3900 acres of land with a feeder at Rawley's Mill.

On the north side of the summit, resident engineer William J. Ball decided to build a second reservoir in the Birch Creek valley from which, by a feeder 2½ miles long, water could be carried to the summit level.

The Engineer's Report said:

> "I cannot too strongly recommend the immediate construction of this work, as without it, the Division south of Terre Haute must be comparatively valueless during the dry season. The cost of the reservoir and feeder is estimated at $24,358.00, exclusive of damages for the land occupied, and making provision for clearing off 250 acres of the timber."

Residents living near the proposed reservoirs opposed. During the survey period, threats were made to destroy any reservoir built since its presence would "jeopardize the community's health." Chief Engineer Jesse L. Williams recommended that on 250 acres be cleared while the area to be covered by water was nearly 1000 acres. Substantial timber was not scheduled to be removed in the area covered by water and driftwood was believed to be responsible for cholera.

At a citizens' meeting in Saline City, a resolution was passed protesting the construction of a reservoir. The protest was filed with Gov. Joseph A. Wright, who hailed from nearby Parke County. Wright notified lawyers prestigious James McLean Hanna and John Palmer Usher, both of whom resided in Terre Haute, to take steps to prevent the canal trustees from "injuring residents' health." The gesture aroused further opposition and was good political strategy. Usher later became Attorney General of Indiana until President Abraham Lincoln asked him to serve as Secretary of the Interior. Usher was present when Lincoln died. He returned to Terre Haute but accepted a position as General Counsel for the Union Pacific Railroad in Lawrence, Kansas. His home there is now a fraternity house.

Hanna and Usher labored to prevent construction but their efforts were futile. Work was finished early in 1852. No further action was taken by the legislature until March, 1853 when an bill was passed directing a Physicians' Commission to study reservoirs in Clay and Gibson counties. When eventually submitted to the governor, the reports denied the prevailing idea that the reservoirs were detrimental to public health: The Splunge Creek Reservoir "water is pure and clear, with the exception of that which surrounds the timber" and even it "can in no wise contribute to the production of malaria . . . . It is the opinion of this Committee that any body of fresh water receiving and discharging the same amount that this Reservoir does . . . could not alone, under the most adverse circumstances, become a source of disease."

The summary also proclaimed the Birch Creek Reservoir harmless and, since the area was swamp, "an infinitely worse state of things would follow, if the timber be cut away and the direct rays of the sun let in upon its surface."

Inhabitants near the reservoir refused to believe the conclusions and, purportedly, many suffered from chills, ague and fever. A correspondent writing over the name of *Truth* claimed:

> ". . . [W]e have some little confidence left in the office of governor; at least enough to cause us to hope that if he ever takes the trouble to read the report, he will see what a farce has been enacted."

Unhealthy conditions were imaginatively described in area newspapers. According to one correspondent, the fish in the Reservoir had no scales, having been "shaken off by the chills." Fear was a more potent force in arousing antagonism than the presence of illness though cholera was common in many parts of the country during this era. Irish workmen who built the reservoirs were especially susceptible. The Old Hill Cemetery in southern Clay County bears abundant evidence. Besides, opponents remembered that trustee Thomas H. Blake was a 1849 victim of the disease, contracted from the venture which he championed.

In early 1852, a cholera epidemic broke out among the laborers on the Evansville division of the canal. Over 100 deaths occurred during the summer and the workers were demoralized. Those catching cholera usually died within a few weeks. People living in the vicinity of the reservoirs had a new basis for resisting construction of an improvement which was so detrimental to health.

In January, 1854, renewed antagonism arose. A public meeting was called "without regard to party, to consult upon the interests involved in the erection and maintenance of reservoirs, dams and pools of water in this county," to convene in the Union Meeting House at Bowling Green on February 23, 1854. The residents opposed work on the Birch Creek Reservoir until all timber was eliminated and, at the same time, adopted a resolution that only legal means should be used to oppose the construction.

Available legal means did not prove sufficient. At midnight of June 22, 1854, an embankment of Birch Creek Reservoir was cut away and its water drained. It was the first of several mob actions which persevered for the next two years. Terre Haute newspapers bitterly condemned the residents' ruin. The *Terre Haute Journal*, published by Col. William E. McLean, complained that "everything that was reasonable had been done to satisfy those living near the Reservoir . . . . What is to be done to protect the public interest in the future against the lawless acts of midnight desperadoes?"

Denizens near the reservoir retorted that they had requested the canal trustees to remove timber and had been disregarded. The reservoir, they said, was built "in such a manner that it would depopulate the whole surrounding country." The Canal Company was branded as an "overgrown, soulless, grinding monopoly." The Birch Creek Reservoir incident paralyzed traffic between Terre Haute and Evansville. Its water was necessary to keep the canal navigable. "If the State authorities have not the power to prevent and punish such lawless acts of outrage, it is time the public should know it", the *Terre Haute Journal* said.

Further acts were threatened unless the timber should be cleared out of the reservoir for, while "mob-temperament" was condemned, area citizens "believed that a man has a right to defend his life and property."

The renewed struggle caused Hanna to summons a meeting at Eel River feeder dam on July 28, 1854 "to consider the best means of arranging difficulties which exist in regard to the Reservoir". He invited two trustees of the Canal Company, including Thomas Dowling, to be present. A compromise resulted. The trustees agreed to remove all timber from the Birch Creek Reservoir and the citizens promised to commit no further transgressions.

Dowling hired laborers to clear out the reservoir and repair the cut in the embankment at a cost of over $1,000. All went well for two months when, on the night of September 9, 1854, the feeder dam was burned to the water's edge. The origin of the fire was never determined but credit for the deed was given to the "Reservoir Regulators," as the opponents were called. The Resident Engineer estimated the loss in revenue to the Canal Company to be $20,000.00 besides "the loss of confidence in the stability of the canal."

By the spring of 1855, the canal was again filled and, in May, several boats left Evansville for Terre Haute and the north. Packets were scheduled to make regular trips between Terre Haute and Evansville. It began to look as if trade would resume but 1855 proved to be the most turbulent year of all. On May 8, about 200 men with blackened faces, armed with guns and pistols, again broke open the embankment of the Birch Creek Reservoir. According to reports, the perpetrators waved the American flag over the gap.

The Terre Haute *American* bemoaned that the canal trustees must "go on building up and the mob tearing down." On the other hand, residents averred that all timber had not been removed; that the work had been done in a half-hearted manner; and that they had "repeatedly informed the trustee that it [the reservoir] could not stand unless they were paid a reasonable price for their land or the timber taken off . . . and other reasonable steps taken to preserve the health".

On May 24, 1855, Gov. Wright issued a declaration offering a $5,000 reward for information leading to the arrest of the dambreakers. He insinuated that he would employ force to keep sacred the "promises of the State of Indiana." Wright visited the reservoir and, when he arrived, posters warned him not to employ men to attempt to repair the breach.

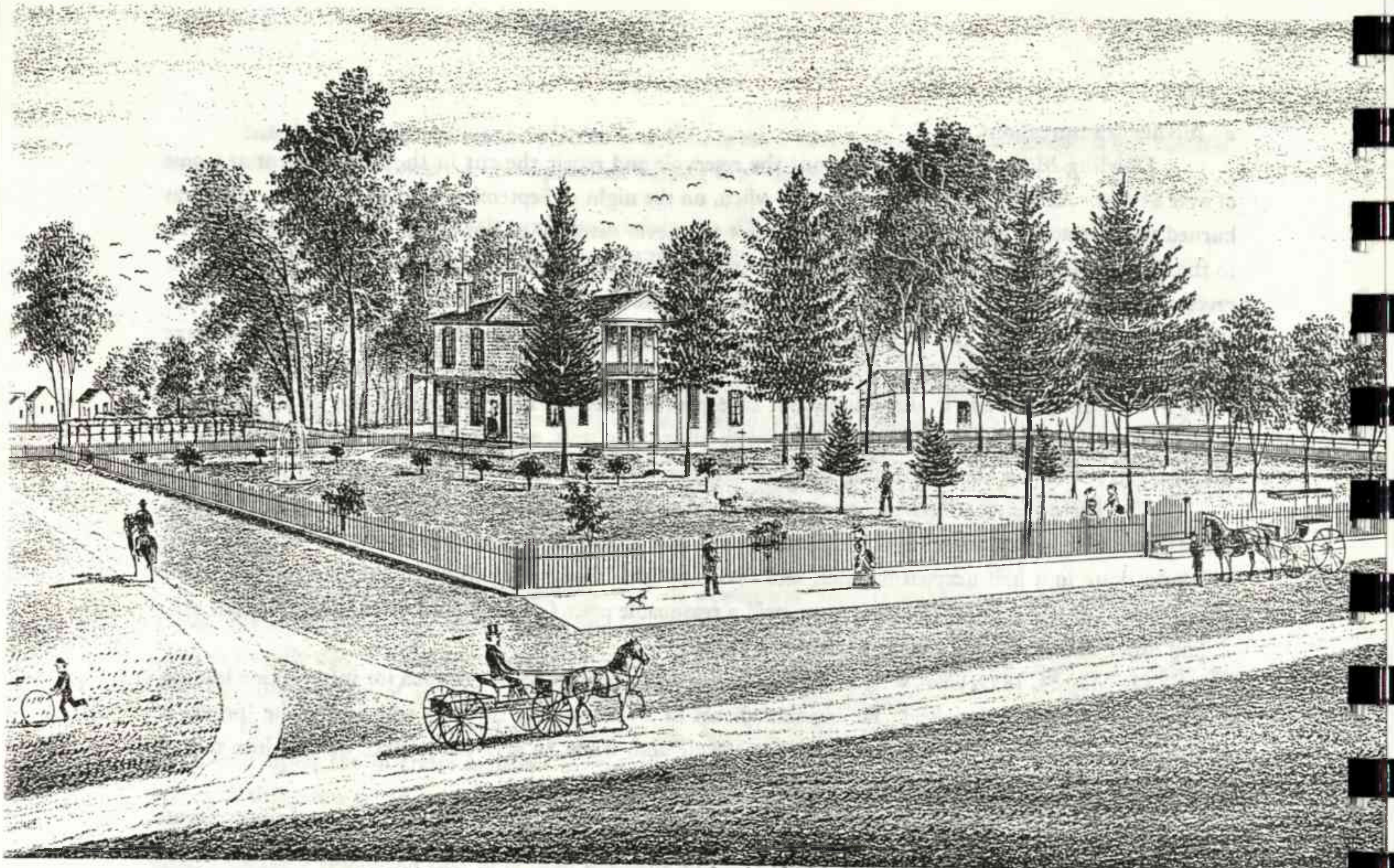
The Regulators were not finished. Early in June, the aqueduct which carried canal water across Birch Creek was partially wrecked and all the buildings used by workmen on the canal, and their tools, were demolished or stolen. Laborers were driven away by this episode and it became impractical to continue to repair the reservoir. People living near the reservoir disavowed any knowledge. It was conjectured that the offenders came from out of county "for the love of wrongdoing."

Wright rebuked authorities, particularly the Clay County Sheriff, for malfeasance. Later, he issued a proclamation calling out the militia under the command of General Dodd of Marion County and Colonel Nees of Clay County. About 50 soldiers were sent to the Reservoir. The governor also called for volunteers and 60 men, mostly from Evansville, enrolled, increasing the number of militiamen in Clay County to 110.

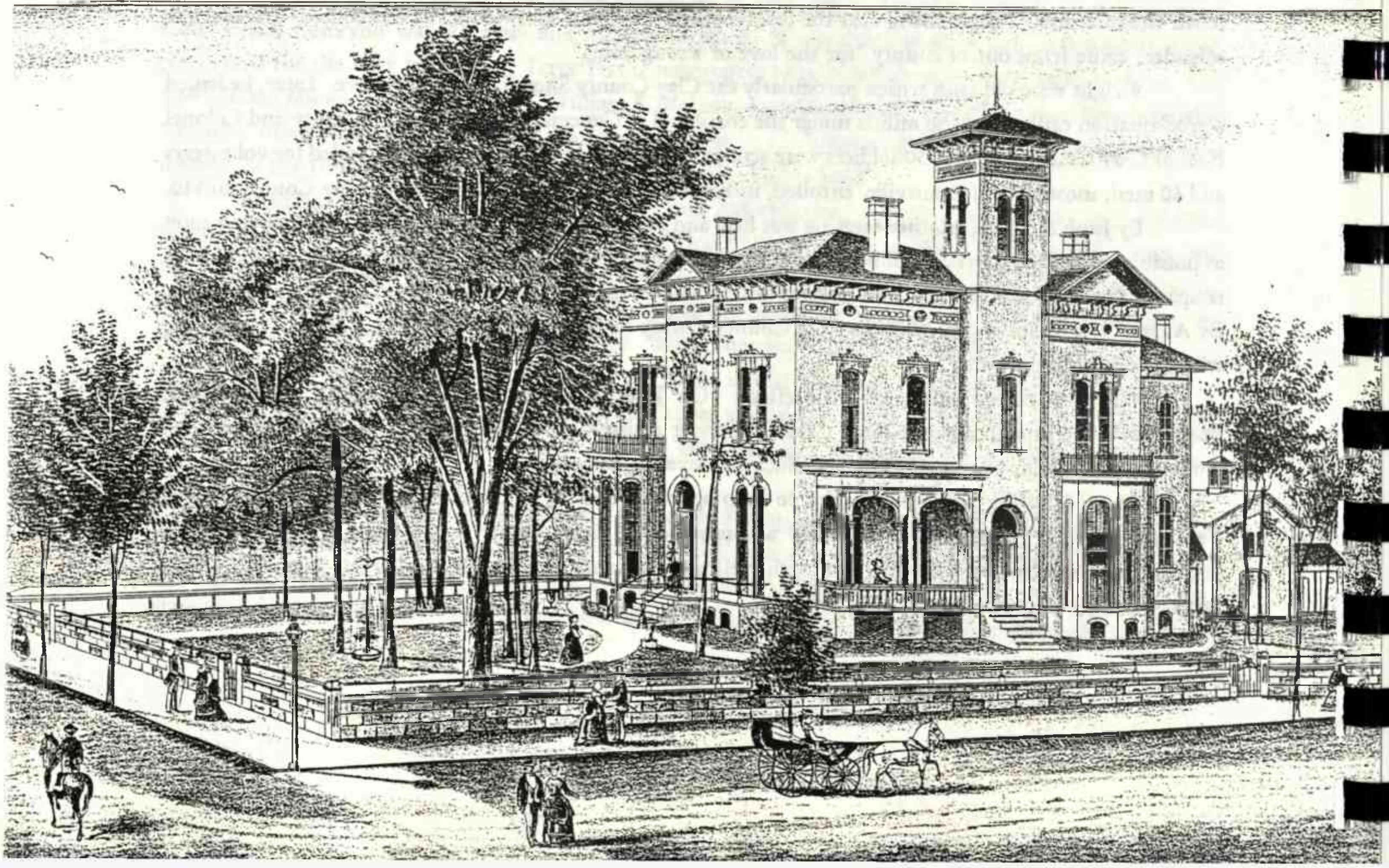
By June 21, 1855, another meeting was held and the trustees committed to remove all timber as soon as possible. Seventeen arrests had been made and indictments were prepared charging arson and malicious trespass. The alleged offenders were released after questioning. Gov. Wright directed the troops to depart. By August 1, a notice appeared in the Clay County *Citizen* for assistance to clear timber from the reservoir without draining the water.

The new compromise had little effect. On June 29, 1855, during the night, there was an unsuccessful attempt to cut the Birch Creek Reservoir embankment. No further efforts succeeded until August, 1857, when, once again, the aqueduct was severely damaged.

In 1860, Miller and Hedges tried to keep open the Cross Cut Canal from the Eel River Dam to Terre Haute. An appropriation of $1,000 was provided by Terre Haute to aid them but, after a short period, the venture was abandoned. No further efforts were made to keep the canal open. The railroad was fast replacing it except on a very local level.



RESIDENCE OF COL. THOMAS DOWLING AT THE HEAD OF 5TH ST. TERRE HAUTE IND.



XIII. OTHER TERRE HAUTE CANAL PERSONALITIES

Thomas Dowling

A native of Ireland, Dowling arrived in the United States as a teenager and quickly became a printer's apprentice. He came to Terre Haute in 1831 and established the town's second newspaper, the *Wabash Courier*. Eventually his newspaper absorbed the *Western Register & Terre Haute General Advertiser*. In 1838, he was Aide-de-Camp to the Indiana militia. His brother, John Dowling, was co-publisher and editor and became Governor Noah Noble's aid. Later, Thomas Dowling purchased the *Terre Haute Express*. Thomas Dowling was elected to the Indiana House six times and, addition to his canal duties, served as a city councilman and county commissioner. Dowling's mansion became a women's retirement home and was destroyed not many years ago. Dowling dedicated 27 years as resident trustee of the Wabash & Erie Canal. He stuck with the project though much criticism was heaped upon him.

Edward Allen Hannegan

Edward Allen Hannegan was born in Hamilton County, Ohio on June 25, 1807 but he moved to Lexington, Kentucky when he was very young. The best school in the west was Transylvania University. He received an excellent education and became a friend of a classmate, Jefferson Davis. The Mason County Clerk, Marshall Key, gave him a job and urged him Hannegan to study law. In 1826, he moved to Vincennes and met Margaret Duncan. The young married couple moved to Terre Haute but Hannegan found that several prominent lawyers were well established here. He decided to move farther north up the Wabash after living in Terre Haute about a year. For reasons we may never know, he became attached to the village and the river which borders it.

Hannegan chose Covington where he taught school, farmed and was admitted to the bar. Though he came from Henry Clay territory and moved to communities supportive of Clay, Hannegan was a Democrat and an Andrew Jackson supporter. When Jackson carried Indiana in 1828, Hannegan became enrolling clerk for the Indiana General Assembly. Two years later, he became Prosecuting attorney. The following year, he was elected to the state legislature. The positions encouraged him to hone his speaking skills even further.

As a member of the Indiana House, Hannegan became active in the Committee on Canals and Internal Improvements. By 1832 he was ready for national attention and was elected to Congress. Upon his arrival in Washington, he was identified as "brilliant." With a ruddy complexion, charismatic blue eyes and an abundance of Irish wit, he may have been the nation's finest orator. Daniel Webster once said: "If Ned Hannegan had been in Congress before I, I fear that I would not have been known for my eloquence."

In 1834, Hannegan was re-elected but, in 1836, he did not seek a third term. Hannegan's popularity in Washington made him the life of parties and, at the parties, the Irishman indulged in his favorite drink: Irish whiskey. His dedicated wife urged him to become a teetotaler and Ned Hannegan became a speaker for the temperance movement.

Hannegan could not stay out of the fray. He moved to Porter County, got involved in a newspaper, opened the land office at Winamac and got involved in the expulsion of the Potawatomi Indians. He also practiced law, developing a reputation in both Indiana and Illinois for his trial work. Wherever Hannegan was scheduled to appear, court houses were packed to hear him utter a few words. After a couple of years, he moved his office back to Covington and continued to fraternize with the midwest's finest politicians and attorneys, including Illinois lawyer Abraham Lincoln.

In 1840 Hannegan's eloquence could not overcome the popularity of William Henry Harrison as the Democrats were defeated by the Whigs. Undaunted, Hannegan returned to politics in 1842 and was selected United States Senator by one vote. His return to Washington was greeted with jubilation. Though identified with the pioneer west, Hannegan had the magnetism of a Twentieth Century athlete. He charmed the ladies; he was respected by men. He was outspoken on issues facing the country, including slavery and Abolitionists. Both were wrong, he said. He feared dissolution of the Union and the Union, in Hannegan's perspective, meant as much of the entire North American continent as America could rightfully claim. He was the undisputed proponent of "manifest destiny."

"We must occupy, organize and defend The Oregon Territory," Hannegan asserted with trembling voice. "Peaceably, if we can; forcibly, if we must!"

"Oregon: Every foot or not an inch," Hannegan toasted in Philadelphia at one gala occasion. "Fifty-four degrees, forty minutes or *delenda est Brittania!*" The statement created a furor. "54-40 or Fight!," his adherents replied.

Meanwhile, Hannegan maintained a love-hate relationship with President James K. Polk. Convinced that Polk's goals were consistent with his, he became his confidant and supporter. Yet, when the President and his Secretary of State John Calhoun agreed to compromise with Britain on "the Oregon question," Hannegan publicly accused the President of having "the tongue of a serpent."

In 1848, Hannegan was Covington's conspicuous leader in the Attica War over the water, or lack thereof, in the Wabash & Erie Canal. And, the first canal boat to arrive at Terre Haute, October 25, 1849, was named the *E.A. Hannegan*, owned by a man from Toledo.

Hannegan's return to Washington probably coincided with his return to the bottle. The Democrats sided with former Terre Haute lawyer James Whitcomb, then Indiana Governor, for Hannegan's Senate seat. Before retiring from office and in an effort to placate his former ally, Polk offered Hannegan a prestigious diplomatic appointment: Minister to Prussia. Ned Hannegan arrived in Berlin on June 10, 1849.

Hannegan's diplomatic service in Berlin enhanced his legend. Though he stoutly denied "serious romantic involvement," rumors were rampant that he had an affair with the Queen of Prussia. There is no question that she, like many women of the day, was mesmerized by the Hoosier. The king was outraged when the Indiana diplomat kissed the queen's hand in public. His stay in Berlin was shortlived. He returned to Covington where he had accumulated one of the finest libraries on the west. Lew Wallace, the young Fountain County prosecutor, called him the "Baron of Covington, a legal scholar and a great advocate."

Though he could not get elected to the state legislature in 1851, Hannegan concluded that a Democrat would be elected President in 1852. He set his sights on that goal. No front runner had surfaced. He employed a young lawyer to assume his legal responsibilities while he visited other states. That man, Daniel Wolsey Voorhees, emulated Hannegan as a speaker and, a few years later after moving to Terre Haute, became known as the "Tall Sycamore of the Wabash."

Campaigning was Hannegan's cup of tea or, rather, his glass of whiskey. In spite of that weakness, he seemed to gain support. One source contends that he had received pledges from as many as nine states. No one then had heard of Franklin Pierce. In May, 1852, Hannegan returned to Covington after a few weeks on the campaign trail to attend Lew Wallace's marriage to Susan Elston. He got "plastered." His brother-in-law, Captain John Duncan, urged him to abstain from alcohol during the presidential campaign. The two quarreled.

When Duncan strived to assist Hannegan to his bedroom, the former Senator grabbed a Spanish dagger and plunged it into Duncan's neck. Duncan, who verbally absolved Hannegan from any fault for the incident, died the next day.

Though a Fountain County grand jury refused to indict their "baron," Hannegan's political ambitions died with Duncan. Voorhees left Covington and moved to Terre Haute. Wallace moved to Crawfordsville. Hannegan went into seclusion for nearly a year and resurfaced the following year to publish an annotated collection of Indiana laws.

In 1854, Hannegan's name was mentioned frequently in the press for his court room ventures and a possible partnership in Terre Haute with distinguished Terre Haute attorney, John Palmer Usher. The partnership never materialized. Usher later became Attorney General of Indiana and Secretary of the Interior under Abraham Lincoln. When Hannegan's wife died in 1857, the former politician decided to move south or west. Memphis was the original destination but old friends convinced him to stay in St. Louis. His eloquence returned and, once again, Hannegan became a viable political candidate.

On February 24, 1859, Hannegan was scheduled to come out of political retirement at a mass meeting in St. Louis honoring Senator Stephen Douglas. He calmed his nerves for the occasion with Irish whiskey and morphine. The result was disastrous. He made a fool of himself.

The next day Edward Allen Hannegan, the Baron of Covington and Presidential candidate, was found dead in his hotel room. Whether his death was caused by an overdose or he committed suicide has never been determined. He was interred in Terre Haute's Woodlawn Cemetery on the banks of the Wabash where, from his early days before the Terre Haute bar, he had urged his friends to bury him.

James Sidney Hinton

James Sidney Hinton, the only black ever to serve as a trustee of the Wabash & Erie Canal, also was the first black ever to serve in the Indiana legislature. Born free on Christmas Day, 1834, in Raleigh, North Carolina, Hinton moved to Terre Haute at age 13 to attend the private black subscription school founded here in the 1840s by Hiram Rhodes Revels in connection with the Allen African Methodist Episcopalian Church. Revels later became the first black United States Senator in history. According to one report, he was befriended by a Terre Haute physician who urged him to study medicine and become a missionary. It is also reported that Hinton attended a private Quaker school at Hartford in southern Vigo County for awhile. Hinton resided here for 14 years and worked as a barber and schoolteacher. In 1859, he was elected Grand Master of the Black Masons. In 1862, he wanted to become active in the Union military movement. He went to Indianapolis to enlist but was rejected. Undaunted, he began serving as a recruiting officer for the 54th and 55th Massachusetts Colored Regiments. Eventually, he was able to assume a similar post with the 28th Indiana Regiment. In 1873, the Indiana legislature appointed him as a Wabash & Erie Canal trustee; Hinton served until 1878. In 1880 he became the first black Indiana state legislator. He also became a member of the board of trustees at Wilberforce College. James S. Hinton died on November 6, 1892.

Robert Noble Hudson

Colonel Robert Noble Hudson, whose home is listed as part of the 1994 tour, played a role in establishing fiscal responsibility in connection with canal financing. Born in Brookville, Hudson was a descendant of a prominent English sea captain who received the "Hudson grant" of 12 square miles, on Maryland's east coast for services in the British Navy and merchant marines.

Hudson came to Terre Haute in 1840 and attended Asbury College in Greencastle, now DePauw University, where he graduated in 1844. Studying under Col. Richard W. Thompson, he started a law practice in 1847. In 1849 and 1853, Hudson was elected to the Indiana legislature as a Whig where he is credited as being the "father of the free state banking system," serving as chairman of the legislative Committee on Banks and Banking.

In 1856, Hudson purchased the *Terre Haute Express*, both a daily and a weekly, and was one of the first newspaper publishers in Indiana to endorse Abraham Lincoln for President. An early abolitionist, he was a delegate to the 1860 Republican National Convention. When Indiana's effort to build the canal, and other internal improvements, failed, the state was burdened with debt. It could not meet the interest payments, requiring a compromise with its creditors and turned over to them the canal lands for one-half of the debt. The remaining half was to be paid through the issuance of new bonds which were to exchanged for old bonds. A state agent was appointed to reside in New York, exchange the bonds and pay the interest when due.

In 1859, James H. Cravens was elected the first State Agent by the Indiana legislature. He named D. C. Stover as his Clerk. In 1860, Cravens resigned and Stover was appointed by Governor Ashbel Willard to succeed him until the legislature could meet. In February, 1861, the legislature elected Hudson as its State Agent. He sold the *Terre Haute Express* and moved to New York.

Only a few weeks after hew arrived, Hudson discovered that fraudulent bond certificates had been issued from an old bond book and bore the signatures of the State Auditor and State Treasurer who had been out of office since 1855. The signatures were obvious forgeries. Hudson confronted Stover about the matter and former agent admitted his guilt. The fraud amounted to $2,538,000.00: the biggest fraud in the history of the State until that time. All but $100,000 of the forged certificates were issued to one man: Samuel Hallett.

Efforts to prosecute Stover and Hallett in New York were unsuccessful in spite of Governor Oliver Morton's efforts. The New York court concluded that it was not a New York crime to forge certificates which, on their face, were executed in Indiana. The unpaid forged certificates were cancelled but the State apparently lost $1,295,000, the sum already by Stover to Hallett before Hudson discovered the deceit.

As the Civil War expanded, Hudson enlisted, receiving a colonel's commission. His first duty was as a staff officer under decorated Major General John Fremont's 60th New York Regiment which was involved in the Missouri campaign. Fremont was superseded after that engagement but Hudson remained loyal to him. Later, Fremont was placed in command of the Virginia "Mountain Department" and he requested Hudson's services. With approval of the United States Senate, Hudson was commissioned colonel of the cavalry. At the conclusion of those services, Hudson returned to Terre Haute where Governor Morton assigned him to found the 133th Indiana Infantry. Hudson commanded the regiment for the remainder of the war.

Though strong in his feelings during the war, after Appomattox Hudson became outspoken for liberal treatment of the defeated Confederates. He started a new newspaper, *The Terre Haute Gazette*, and campaigned strongly for editor Horace Greeley for President. When Greeley was defeated, he sold the *Gazette* but, afterward, purchased the *Terre Haute Journal,* which he operated until 1873. Hudson was an blunt, well-spoken critic of things which displeased him.

Hudson was the champion of the "State Debt Bill," which required all state debt to be paid and the common school fund to be placed upon a solid fiscal foundation. He also is credited with creating the plan for closing the Wabash & Erie Canal trust. He died August 30, 1889.

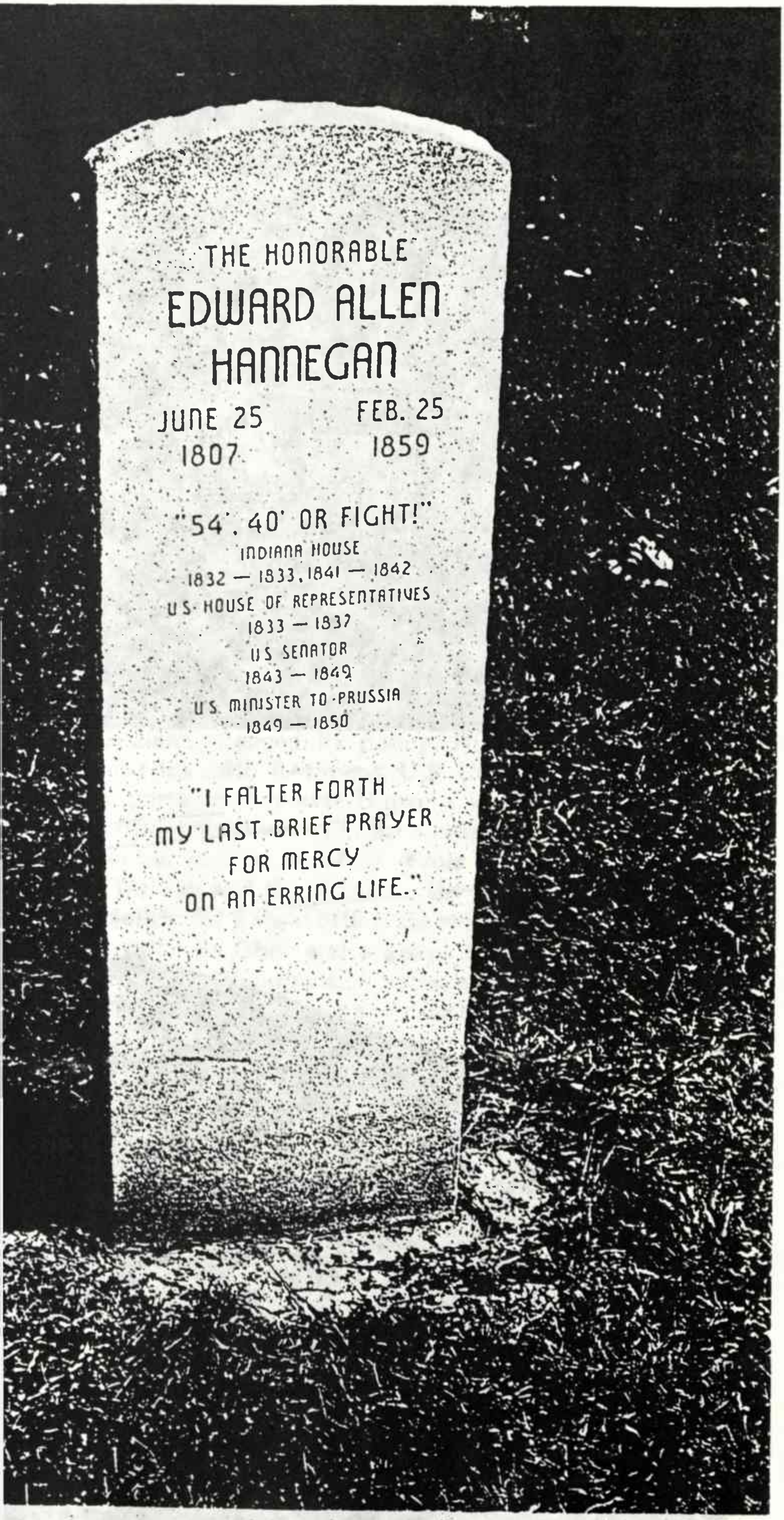
Lucius H. Scott

Born on March 29, 1794, in Windsor County, Vermont, Lucius H. Scott arrived in Terre Haute soon after its plat was recorded. Many years later he reported the Independence Day celebration in Terre Haute in 1817 at Henry Redford's Eagle and Lion Tavern, Terre Haute's first inn. Scott's involvement in community affairs from the beginning was significant. He was appointed the first county agent to accept taxes and assessments and was elected the first Vigo County Sheriff. He also taught school.

In 1822, Scott was elected to the Indiana legislature. Senator Oliver H. Smith named him as one of the state's early legislators who knew what he was doing. Five years later, Scott built a two story brick home, including a store, at the southwest corner of Third and Ohio streets. Even into the early part of this century, reference is made to the corner as "Scott's Corner."

Scott was active in support of the Wabash & Erie Canal, served as a director of the State Bank of Indiana and was active in local freemasonry. Scott moved to Philadelphia about they time the canal arrived in Terre Haute. He returned frequently. He died on April 22, 1875.

His first wife was named Jane Barnet. Scott married Eliza Perkins Linton, William Linton's widow, in 1837.


THE HONORABLE
EDWARD ALLEN
HANNEGAN
JUNE 25
1807
FEB. 25
1859
"54°. 40' OR FIGHT!"
INDIANA HOUSE
1832 — 1833, 1841 — 1842
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
1833 — 1837
U.S. SENATOR
1843 — 1849
U.S. MINISTER TO PRUSSIA
1849 — 1850
"I FALTER FORTH
MY LAST BRIEF PRAYER
FOR MERCY
ON AN ERRING LIFE."

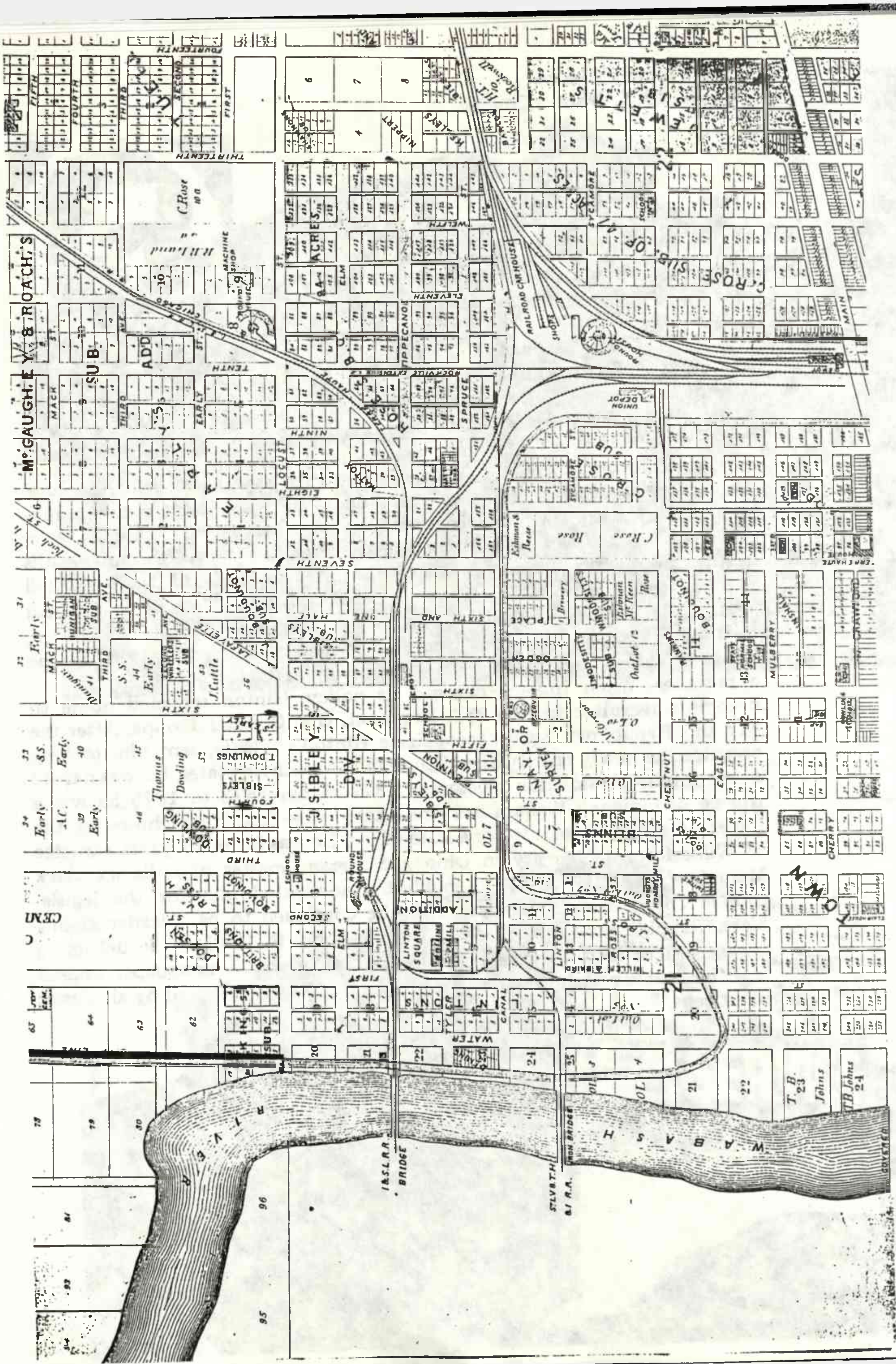
MERCURY
LINCOLN
MACE
SERVICE
GOODYEAR

MACE
MERCURY
LINCOLN
SERVICE
Since 1924

James Sidney Hinton

House, 1881, Marion County

The first black elected to the Indiana legislature was James S. Hinton. He was born December 25, 1834, at Raleigh, North Carolina. His parents, John Cook and Hannah Mitchell Hinton, were both free born. About 1848 James' father, a skilled artisan, brought the family to Terre Haute, where James attended subscription schools. Despite his parents' early deaths, James continued his education, first at a Quaker school, then at the Greenville Institute. For a time he studied medicine with a doctor in hopes of becoming a missionary to Liberia, but decided to stay in America. He became a barber — one of the few trades open at that time to blacks. He moved to Indianapolis before 1860, where he also dealt in real estate. He married Eliza J. Mitchell in 1862; she died in 1887. He belonged to the African Methodist Episcopal Church. At the start of the Civil War Hinton volunteered for military service, but was rejected by Indiana authorities because of his race. Undaunted, he went to Massachusetts, which was enrolling black troops, and joined up as a recruiter. When Indiana changed its policy, Hinton returned home to become a recruiter for the 28th Regiment, U.S. Colored Troops. After the war the Republican party, recognizing Hinton's talents, sent him to help organize the newly enfranchised blacks in the southern states. He was named a contingent presidential elector in 1872. From 1873 to 1875 he was a trustee of Indiana's Wabash and Erie Canal — the first black chosen by the Indiana General Assembly for a state office. He was for many years a trustee of Wilberforce University in Ohio and a grand master of Indiana's black Masonic organization. The Republicans nominated him for the legislature in 1880. After legislative service he continued to be a leader among black Republicans until his death on November 6, 1892, while delivering a campaign speech at Brazil, Indiana. An Indianapolis newspaper praised him the next day as a "man of strict integrity," one "honored by all classes of citizens."


McGAUGHEY & ROACH'S SUB.
ADD.
C. ROSE'S SUB. OF A. ACRES
ACRES
SIBLEY'S DIV.
T. DOWLINGS
SIBLEYS
BOURNE'S SUB.
LINTON SQUARE
ADDITION
RAILROAD CAR HOUSE
ROUND HOUSE
MACHINE SHOP
UNION DEPOT
ROCKVILLE EXTENSION
I.&S.L.R.R. BRIDGE
IRON BRIDGE
WABASH
RIVER
FIRST
SECOND
THIRD
FOURTH
FIFTH
SIXTH
SIXTH AND ONE HALF
SEVENTH
EIGHTH
NINTH
TENTH
ELEVENTH
TWELFTH
THIRTEENTH
FOURTEENTH
MAIN
CHESTNUT
EAGLE
MULBERRY
CHERRY
SYCAMORE
SPRUCE
ELM
LOCUST
TIPPECANOE
MACK
EARLY
LAFAYETTE
CANAL
WATER
TYLER
OGDEN
ROSS
LINTON
CRAWFORD
C. Rose
R.R. Land
Rose
Early
Dowling
Thomas
T.B. Johns

XIII. THE CANAL ERA ENDS

The Wabash & Erie Canal, which brought magic to many communities in Indiana, was special.

Terre Haute offered much to the canal and was its beneficiary. During the canal era, Terre Haute residents included a President of Liberia, a five-time Socialist candidate for President of the United States, two Presidential nominees, two Indiana governors, a California governor, an Idaho governor, a Louisiana governor, governors of the New Mexico, Utah, Oregon and Arkansas territories, two Indiana lieutenant governors, six United States Senators including the first black to serve in that position, nine Congressmen including the most powerful Speaker of the House in history, the Secretary of Interior under Abraham Lincoln, the Secretary of the Navy under Rutherford B. Hayes, the Chief Deputy United States Commissioner of Pensions under Grover Cleveland, ambassadors to Mexico, Chile, Prussia, Argentina, China, Amsterdam, Denmark and Aix la Chappelle, the head of the Panama Canal Company, the first Surgeon General in the history of the United States Navy, the only Surgeon General in the history of the Texas Army, an Indiana State Auditor, two Indiana Attorney Generals, an Indiana State Treasurer, an Indiana State Geologist, two winners of the Congressional Medal of Honor, three Commissioners of the United States Land Office in Washington, D. C. and four district land office officials, ten commanders of Civil War regiments, at least eight brevetted generals of the United States Army, Indiana's Financial Agent to England, 13 Indiana University trustees, the presidents of seven railroads, the author of the 1868 Republican platform, three members of the Indiana Supreme Court, two federal judges, the legislator whose resolution created the Library of Congress, the legislator whose resolution funded Indiana Harbor, the man who coined the term "54-40 or Fight!," the man who first said "Go West, Young Man," at least 23 newspaper editors and publishers, at least 26 state legislators (including Indiana's first black legislator and three Speakers of the Indiana House), the first woman lawyer in Indiana history, the founders of five colleges, the Editor of The Outlook and the pastor who succeeded Henry Ward Beecher at the Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, the man credited with first using the rooster as a symbol for the Democratic Party, composer-vaudeville star Paul Dresser, authors Theodore Dreiser and Charles Sumner Olcott, poet George Washington Cutter, artist James Farrington Gookins, sculptress Janet Scudder, miniaturist Amalia Kussner Coudert, playwright Samuel Young, New York stage stars Alice Fischer Harcourt, Rose Melville and Margaret Gallagher, the father of Buster Keaton and the mother of Booth Tarkington. And more.

During the canal area, prominent actors like Edwin Forrest, Edwin Booth and Joseph Jefferson were common fare at Terre Haute's theaters. In 1858, Walker Hegeman remodeled the third floor of Moses Carr's Hall at Fourth and Walnut into a theater while former canal worker Samuel Dodson was putting in another theater in Corinthian Hall at Third and Wabash. In the 1990s, Carr's Hall was demolished without a word in the local media about its heritage as the "winner" of Terre Haute's first "theater war."

Canal trustee Thomas Dowling built the town's first real entertainment palace, Dowling Hall, on North Sixth Street in 1864. It may have been his answer to his canal critics. The Terre Haute Opera House was incorporated in 1869 and built a magnificent structure at Fourth and Wabash. Other owners later called it the Naylor Opera House. It succumbed to flames in July, 1896, as plans were being formulated to build a second opera house next to The Terre Haute House. Another memory of Terre Haute's days on the Wabash & Erie Canal went up in smoke. The Grand Opera House was opened in 1897.